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Appendicia et pertinentiae



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Appendícia et Pertinentiæ;

OR,

PAROCHIAL FRAGMENTS

RELATING TO

THE PARISH OF WEST TARRING,

&c. &c. &c.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

Appendicia et Pertinentiæ;

OR,

PAROCHIAL FRAGMENTS

RELATING TO

THE PARISH OF WEST TARRING,

AND THE CHAPELRIES OF

HEENE AND DURRINGTON,

IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX;

CONTAINING

A LIFE OF THOMAS À BECKET,

AN HISTORICAL

AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF HIS (SO CALLED) PALACE AT WEST TARRING,

AND OF THE FIGS HE INTRODUCED;

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LEARNED JOHN SELDEN,

AND SELDEN'S COTTAGE AT SALVINGTON, &c. &c. &c.

BY

JOHN WOOD WARTER, B.D.

VICAR OF WEST TARRING, &c. &c. &c.

In Aid of the Restoration of the Church of West Tarring.

"With Hezekiah be a good Churchman; first, repair God's house, and let it never be said that our Churches lie like barns, and that OUR FATHER lets down what PATER NOSTER set up."—R. HARRIS, *Sermons*, p. 196, folio, 1652.

"A good man finds every place he treads upon holy ground; to him the world is God's temple. He is ready to say with Jacob, '*How dreadful is this place! this is none other than the house of God!*'"—JOHN SMITH'S *Select Disc.*, p. 467.

LONDON:

FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE.

1853.



"Thus I entertain
The antiquarian humour, and am pleased
To skim along the surfaces of things,
Beguiling harmlessly the listless hours."

WORDSWORTH. *The Excursion*.

"He that teaches others well, and practises contrary, is like a fair candlestick, bearing a goodly and bright taper, which sends forth light to all the house, but round about itself there is a shadow and circumstant darkness."

JEREMY TAYLOR, iii. 104.

"As the greatest learning of a Christian is to know the Cross of Christ, so the greatest learning of a Churchman is to build the Body of Christ."

BP. REYNOLDS, iv. 309.

"The hour so spent shall live,
Not unapplauded in the Book of Heaven,
For dear and precious as the moments are
Permitted man, they are not all for deeds
Of active virtue. Give we none to vice
And Heaven will not strict reparation ask
For many a summer's day and winter's eve
So spent as best amuses us."

HURDIS. *The Village Curate*.

Preface.

“Smooth is my style, my method mean and plain,
Free from a railing or invective strain ;
In harmless fashion here I do declare
Mine own rich *wants*, poor *riches*, and my *care* ;
And therefore at my *wants* let no man grieve,
Except his *charges* will the same relieve.”

TAYLOR the *Water Poet's* MOTO.

THE following circular will explain the object of the present volume :—

“It is proposed to restore, in the simplest way, but consistently with its original architectural features, the noble old Church of West Tarring, a sometime Peculiar of Canterbury, in the Diocese of Chichester. It is a fine old Structure, with the Nave unreduced and a striking Clerestory, the lancets being, like the ancient windows of the Temple, small without and large within. The Church, like many others in this country, is dedicated to St. Andrew. The body is of the age of Edward I. The chancel and tower (of flint work and stone quoins) of the age of Edward IV.;—so, at least, is supposed. The spire, though rather out of the perpendicular from an early strain on the timbers, rises in elegant dimensions from the tower, and is a well-known sea-mark. To the whole country round it silently points to heaven, and is an imposing object from all quarters.

Connected with the parish are the well-known names of Thomas

à Becket, and the learned John Selden, who was born in the hamlet of Salvington. That Thomas à Becket introduced the celebrated fig-trees of the district round, and for which West Tarring is so notorious, is as good a tradition as any other. The old Parsonage House still bears the name of Thomas à Becket's Palace,—and in disturbed times, and when Lambeth was unsafe, it might have been a convenient hiding-place,—but there can be little doubt but that in later days it was the residence of the monks, six of whom, I suspect, were attached to the chantry of the Virgin.—The population of the parish (almost all poor), including the chapelries of Heene and Durrington, is rather over a thousand,—lying wide apart.—The sum wanted is 1700*l.*, of which 1400*l.* is raised."

It is necessary to state that the whole of what follows, some few intercalatory sentences and corrections of errors excepted, was written many years ago. The original work comprehends the history of all the parishes in this neighbourhood,—details which were intended to enliven heavier matter,—together with an account of the old Episcopal residence—Amberley Castle. Half-a-dozen drawings relative to these parishes are likewise in hand,—that is to say, of West Tarring Church, of the old Palace of Thomas à Becket, of Selden's Cottage, of Durrington and Heene Chapels, and of Patching; but it was judged unadvisable to add to the expenses of the Work. If a second edition should be called for, and the lovers of our old Churches should come over and help us in our time of need, these drawings can be prepared for that, and made available for the purchasers of the first. The Introduction to the original work is retained as best showing the scope and intent of it, and the Author sees no reason to modify any of the opinions contained in it. The Life of Becket, it should be observed, was printed in the last number of the

“English Review.” The curious “Monomachia” of Richardus Brunæus did not fall into my hands till many years after that life was written. As it is a rare book I subjoin the title. “*S. Thomæ Cantuariensis et Henrici II. illustris Anglorum Regis Monomachia, de Libertate Ecclesiasticâ cum subjuncto ejusdem argumenti Dialogo. Utrumque publicabat* RICHARDUS BRUNÆUS. Colonia Agrippinæ. Anno M.DC.XXVI.” Lowndes, in his “Bibliographer’s Manual,” says there is a copy in the British Museum. Mine was picked up from a Catalogue of T. Thorpe’s.

In speaking of the old Brewhouse, Brasinium, or Brase-nose of West Tarring, I forgot to state that an old QUERN was found there about Christmas 1828, an engraving of which is inserted amongst the additions and corrections of Cartwright’s “History of the Rape of Bramber,” who calls it “a double mortar of fine grit-stone.” I am not aware what has now become of it. It was in the possession of the late Frederick Dixon, Esq., of Worthing, and I drew out for him a hasty sketch of the use to which QUERNS were formerly applied. I suspect the old one found here was turned by a handle like a grindstone. The word, however, was applied more generally, as for example in “Browne’s Britannia’s Pastorals,” Book ii., Song i.:—

“Wherein a miller’s knave
Might for his horse and *quern* have room at will.”

The only other quern I recollect to have seen was in Perthshire, in the summer of 1826, if I remember right, and in the neighbourhood of Dalguise.

As to the opinions expressed in this little work they are my own, and must be dealt with as such; but as regards the errors, I entreat the Reader to deal with them lightly, and, if he can, to encourage the sale of the Book amongst his friends and neigh-

bours, it being altogether a labour of love and a work of charity. And in this respect, at least, that saying of the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eaton, is to the point: "He that knows how to do well himself, will most willingly approve what is well done by another."

JOHN WOOD WARTER.

VICARAGE, WEST TARRING,
June 21st, 1853.

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&c. &c.

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Appendícia et Pertinentiae;

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&c. &c. &c.

“Never did any public misery
 Rise of itself ; God’s plagues still grounded are
 On common stains of our humanity :
 And to the flame which ruineth mankind
 Man gives the matter, or at least gives wind.”
 LORD BROOKE, *Inquisit. upon Fame and Honour.*

“Θαυμάσιοι δὲ ἀρεταὶ ἢ τε εὐτολμία καὶ ἡ ἐν δέοντι παρρησία πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀμείνους, ὥς καὶ τὸ κωμικὸν ἀψευδῶς μᾶλλον ἢ κωμικῶς εἰρησθαι δοκεῖν
 Ἄν πάνθ’ ὁ δοῦλος ἡτυχάζων μανθάνῃ
 Πονηρὸς ἔσται μεταδίδου παρρησίας.”
 PHILO JUDÆUS. *Quis Rerum Divinarum Hæres.* § 1.

“Sad events may sometimes be improved by men’s censures, further than they
 were intended by God’s justice ; and it is more wisdom seriously to observe them
 to the instructing of ourselves than rigidly to apply them to the condemning of
 others.”

FULLER’S *Church History*, b. iii. p. 16.

Introduction.

“The Church’s proper arms be tears and prayers,
Peter’s true keys to open earth, and sky,
Which if the priest out of his pride’s despair
Will into Tybris cast, and Paul’s sword try ;
God’s sacred word he thereon doth abandon,
And runs with fleshly confidence at random.

“Mild people therefore honour God your king,
Reverence your priests, but never under one
Frail creature both your soul and body bring,
But keep the better part to God alone.

The soul his image is, and only he
Knows what it is, and what it ought to be.”

LORD BROOKE.—*Of Church.*

THERE is a most remarkable and striking passage in the works of that great, but much-neglected and long-forgotten divine, Thomas Jackson, with which, having to say somewhat of the Church’s troubles, and of the trials of her members in particular, I would wish to preface this Introduction:—“This lower hemisphere,” says he, “or invisible part of the world, is but as the devil’s chess-board, wherein hardly can our souls move back, or forth, but he sets out one creature or other to attack them ; nor have we any other means to avoid his subtlety, but by looking unto the hills from whence cometh our help, or into that part of this great sphere, which is altogether hid from the world’s eye, *where we may behold more for us, than those that be against us*¹. And seeing we come in danger of Satan’s check, either by

¹ 2 Kings vi. 16.

fear, causing our souls to draw back, or love of some worldly creatures alluring them being on the listes they are to combat in ; if we view that host of heavenly soldiers which are for us, we may always have one of the same rank more potent to remove all fear, or diminish the love of any visible creature, or other incumbrance which Satan can propose unto us, and which, unless we be negligent in our affairs, may, as we say, give our antagonist the check-mate. If he tempt us unto wantonness, by presenting enticing looks of amiable, but earthly, countenances to our sight, we have sure hopes of being as the angels of God, and consorts of His glorious unspotted Lamb, to encourage us unto chastity. If with pleasantness or commodiousness of our present habitations, he seek to detain us from the place of our appointed residence, or discharge of necessary duties, we have the beauty of the *New Jerusalem* to ravish our thoughts with a longing after it, to cause us choose the readiest way that leads unto it, rather than take up our rest in princely palaces. If with honour, he go about to entrap us, or terrify us with worldly disgrace, we may condemn the one by looking upon that shame, and confusion of face, wherewith the wicked, though in this life most honourable, shall be covered in the day of vengeance, and loathe the other, by fixing the eyes of our faith upon that glorious promise made to all the faithful, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you*². If tyrants by his instigation threaten us with fear of death, which is the utmost of their despite, faith sets another before our eyes, whom we must fear more than only such as can kill the body. If with sickness and languishment, we may by faith feel the inward man daily grow, as the outward man decays. Finally, let him assault us what way he can, the affliction can be but light, and for a moment, in comparison of that excellent and eternal weight of glory, which we hope shall be revealed, of which hope faith is the only substance³."

² Matt. xxv. 34.

³ See Jackson's Works, vol. i. p. 638. Ed. folio. The image of the chess-board was no uncommon one with our earlier divines. Hall used it. "The world is a large chess-board, every man hath his place assigned him ; one is a king, another a knight, another a pawn, and each hath his several motion," &c.—Of Contentation, § viii. Works, vol. iii. p. 502. Ed. folio. Jackson also again and again uses the same image, e. g. vol. iii. pp. 515. 665. &c.

Sentiments such as these, drawn from that deep well of comfort, the Scriptures of truth, were they duly impressed on men's minds, would balance them in sorrow, and strengthen their hearts and hands, when standard-bearers of Christian truth are almost fainting, and the banners of Sion, to the outward eye, are soiled and tarnished ;—I say to the outward eye, because within the Church is all glorious, and a King's daughter. In the words of the Canticles, *Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah ; comely as Jerusalem ; terrible as an army with banners*⁴. . . . And how should it be otherwise, when the Apostle tells us that *Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it ; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word : that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing ; but that it should be holy and without blemish*⁵.

But here a question should be answered which is constantly asked : “ See we,” says an objector, “ any such Church ? Are any tokens left of that Holy Catholic Church, in which the saints profess to believe ? Is not all rather division, than unity, and seem not the gates of hell to prevail, as it were, in defiance of His word, who is the Head of the Church, even Christ ? ”

Having quoted one great luminary of the Church, with reference to her troubles and trials, let me answer these questions, in the words of another, whose exposition of the Creed can never be studied too much. “ The Church, as it embraceth all the professors of the true faith of Christ, containeth in it not only such as do truly believe, and are obedient to the word, but those also which are hypocrites and profane. Many profess the faith, which have no true belief ; many have some kind of faith, which live with no correspondence to the Gospel preached. Within therefore the notion of the Church are comprehended good and bad, being both externally called, and both professing the same faith : *For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a field in which wheat and tares grow together unto the harvest ; like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind ; like unto a floor in which is laid up wheat and chaff ; like unto a marriage-feast, in which some have on the wedding garment, and some not.*

⁴ See Ps. xlv. 14. Solomon's Song, vi. 4.

⁵ Ephes. v. 25—27.

This is that ark of Noah, in which were preserved beasts clean and unclean ; this is that *great house*, in which *there are not only vessels of gold, and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour*. There are *many called*, of all which the Church consisteth ; but there are few chosen of those which are called, and thereby within the Church. I conclude, therefore, as the ancient Catholics did against the Donatists, that within the Church, in the public profession and external communion thereof, are contained persons truly good and sanctified, and hereafter saved ; and together with them other persons void of all saving grace, and hereafter to be damned ; and that Church containing these of both kinds, may well be called holy, as St. Matthew called Jerusalem the holy city, even at that time when our Saviour did but begin to preach, when we know that there was in that city a general corruption in manners and worship.

“Of those promiscuously contained in the Church, such as are void of all saving grace while they live, and communicate with the rest of the Church, and when they pass out of this life, die in their sins, and remain under the eternal wrath of God ; as they were not in their persons holy while they lived, so are they no way of the Church after their death, neither as members of it, nor contained in it. Through their own demerit they fall short of the glory unto which they were called, and being by death separated from the external communion of the Church, and having no true internal communion with the members and the head thereof, are totally and finally cut off from the Church of Christ. On the contrary, such as are efficiently called, justified, and sanctified, while they live, are truly holy, and when they die, are perfectly holy ; nor are they by their death separated from the Church, but remain united still by virtue of that internal union by which they were before conjoined both to the members and the head. As, therefore, the Church is truly holy, not only by an holiness of institution, but also by a personal sanctity in reference to these saints while they live, so is it also perfectly holy in relation to the same saints glorified in heaven. And at the end of the world, when all the wicked shall be turned into hell, and consequently all cut off from the communion of the Church, when the members of the Church remaining being perfectly sanctified,

shall be eternally glorified, then shall the whole Church be truly and perfectly holy.

“Then shall that be completely fulfilled, that Christ shall *present unto himself a glorious Church, which shall be holy, and without blemish*. Not that there are two Churches of Christ; one, in which good and bad are mingled together; another, in which there are good alone; one, in which the saints are imperfectly holy; another, in which they are perfectly such; but one and the same Church, in relation to different times, admitteth or not admitteth the permixtion of the wicked, or the imperfection of the godly. To conclude, the Church of God is universally holy in respect of all, by institutions and administrations of sanctity; the same is further, yet at the same time perfectly holy, in reference to the saints departed, and admitted to the presence of God; and the same Church shall hereafter be most completely holy in the world to come, when all the members actually belonging to it shall be at once perfected in holiness, and completed in happiness.”

Much may be said respecting the Church and its members individually; but it is a chance if any thing be said more to the purpose than what has been now quoted. It answers the questioning spirit, and is in itself unanswerable. Whoever fall out by the way, and lose their election, the fault is all their own. He that purchased to Himself an universal Church, by the precious blood of His dear Son, willed the salvation of all men to be set forth, (as it is in the first Ember Prayer,) through Jesus Christ our Lord. It was with the weaker capacities of the creature in view, nowise forgetful of mortal man's transgression, that the poet sang,—

“And though these sparks were almost quench'd with sin,
Yet they whom that Just One hath justified,
Have them increased with heavenly light within,
And, like the widow's oil, still multiply'd.”

To contemplate the Church aright, we must look upon it, though immarcescible as amaranth, subject nevertheless to eclipse, so that faithless and unbelieving men might consider the

⁶ Pearson on the Creed. Article ix. “The Holy Catholic Church.” Vol. i. p. 518.

⁷ Sir John Davies. “Immortality of the Soul.”

light darkened in the midst thereof. And such periods will occur more or less frequently, as the members of that body, of which Christ is the head, shall need the more or the less to be purified and cleansed. Sometimes the furnace of affliction may be for trial, but oftener, it is to be feared, for correction. The humbler members of that Church to which we belong—a part of the Holy Catholic Church throughout all the world—will most readily accede to this. That it has never failed, is because of our Redeemer's promise; that it has often been shorn of its beams, and marred of its original and perfect beauty, is of man's infirmity:—

“ And if physitians in their art can see
 In each disease there is some sparke divine,
 Much more let us the name of God confesse
 In all these sufferings of our guiltinesse ⁸.”

Again, when we look to the ruder shocks which the Church meets with in its opposition to the world, we may be sure it is all for good. Though the mountain of the Lord's house shake at the tempest of the same, moral, like natural tempests, in the end, purify and refine. Winds and storms fulfil the Almighty's word; and the volcano, by giving vent to combustible matter, does the same; thus, as it has been said, preventing the world from being burnt up before its time.

What has been here said applies to the Church at large; but as regards that pure (as we hope) and apostolical branch of it, established in this kingdom, the storm has at different times fallen upon it, and yet, by the blessing of God, it has revived and lifted up her head, fair as the rose of Sharon, and beautiful as the lily of the valleys. Amongst other times of danger and distress, one might mention those of the Great Rebellion, and the Revolution;—more recently that atheistic burst at the end of the last century, and the shock received some ten or twelve years ago, when all abettors of mischief rejoiced, and they had reason to hope that what is called the Establishment, would fall to the ground, and become the prey of the spoiler. On the last occasion there were many thoughtful and wise men who deemed it next to impossible that we could weather the storm; but, at the same time, they

⁸ Lord Brooke. “A Treatise of Warres.”

were not slow to deliver their opinion, that if the present order of affairs ecclesiastical were overturned, many now living would see it restored. Meanwhile the members must suffer; and it was recollected that there had been much inertness, much supineness, much indifference! Church preferment had been made a mere political engine of; and many were thrust into her benefices with little other intent than to "eat a piece of bread." Nay more, good men scrutinized their own doings, and sifted their own hearts, and confessed then, as they will for ever, that they had been unworthy and unprofitable servants, saying, *They made me keeper of the vineyard; but mine own vineyard have I not kept*⁹!

The result of all this, by God's mercy, is what we now see. Individuals have suffered, and are impoverished; the revenues of the Church are curtailed, and are dispensed by other hands than they ought to be; but the Church itself suffers no damage. It rises under the pressure from without; it becomes more and more aware of its own strength and vitality: the little one becomes a thousand; the scant remnant is increased, like the widow's cruse of oil, and handful of meal. The grace of God, it may seem, and we may hope, is proportionably bestowed upon us, as upon the Churches of Macedonia, of which St. Paul tells, *How that in a great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality*¹⁰. That saying of the prophet is once more verified in us: *I will go and return to my place, till they acknowledge their offence: in their affliction they will seek me early*¹. And all this is come to pass. The stagnant waters have been moved, and the pestilence averted. New churches are springing up on every side. The great societies for the dissemination of Christian knowledge are better supported. The education of the people is made a matter of conscience. The Propagation of the Gospel is looked upon as a real thing; and when the State, by a measure as impolitic as wicked, gave up the clergy reserves in Canada², the Church of this land put herself in the gap, and did what she could in the

⁹ Solomon's Song, i. 6.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. viii. 2.

¹ Hosea v. 15.

² It will be seen by the Preface that these pages were written some years ago. In this day's "Times," April 29, 1853, appears the following: "The Canada Clergy Reserves' Bill was read a third time and passed, after some opposition from the Earl of Wicklow."

present distress. Doubtless it is not expedient for the Church to boast—yea, rather to mourn, for her short-comings and backwardness—but it is expedient, it is her bounden duty, to acknowledge the hand of God in all this!

But is it intended to be said that the clergy of the Establishment had forgotten their duties to God and man—their high position, and their ordination vows? Is such a reproach as this to be cast on the labourers in the Lord's vineyard? and can it be truthfully averred that, some twelve or fourteen years ago, the ministrations of the sanctuary were asleep? Certainly not. As was stated, there had been great remissness in many quarters, and the heavenly functions, as well as the awful and tremendous privilege of rightly and duly administering the sacraments, had been lightly esteemed by the unworthy. But there was a remnant according to the election of grace, and a great one too. The world had its own, but so had the Church too, and it was even in accordance with that ancient answer of God unto Elias: "*I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal*."

It is indeed a remarkable fact, that when, but a few years ago, such a hue and cry was raised against the Church and the ministry in this land, the whole body had been bestirring itself, and there was more energy and more determination to good than had been for years. There was likewise more learning amongst her sons, and more sterling divinity, than had been for a century. Something of what Lord Clarendon states to have been the case before the breaking out of the Great Rebellion was the case now. "The Church was flourishing with learned and extraordinary men, and (which other times had in some degree wanted) supplied with oil to feed those lamps." True, we had not that vast learning, or those extraordinary talents, but our Church was a seminary in which religious and useful learning was on the increase. And besides, it was an exception when the clergy did not love sermons as well as preach them, so that the parallel is again, in a sort, realized. "In those reproached, condemned times, there was not one Churchman, in any degree of favour or acceptance, (and this the inquisition that hath been since made upon them,

³ Rom. xi. 4.

a stricter never was in any age, must confess,) of a scandalous insufficiency in learning, or of a more scandalous condition of life; but, on the contrary, most of them of confessed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemished lives⁴." And then, when the indiscretion or folly of some sermon preached at Whitehall was bruited abroad or commented on, despite the wisdom, sobriety, and devotion of a hundred, his words are not to be forgotten. "But it is as true (as was once said by a man fitter to be believed on that point than I, and one not suspected of flattering the clergy) that, if the sermons of those times preached in court were collected together and published, the world would receive the best bulk of orthodox, divinity, profound learning, convincing reason, natural powerful eloquence, and admirable devotion, that hath been communicated in any age since the Apostles' time."

This testimony of Clarendon, "the most authentic," as Southey calls him, "the most candid, the most instructive of English historians⁵," is of very great value, and when judgment begins at the house of God, is one to afford comfort. The same fact has been noted by other writers, and some there were who bore it in mind when bishops were recommended to set their house in order, and the clergy could scarce appear abroad on parochial ministrations without insult. Happily the sons of violence did us no hurt; but, on the contrary, bestired us, and bade us look to where our great strength lay. *Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another*⁶, righteous and efficacious measures were decided on, enlarged was the place of our tent, and the curtains of our habitation were stretched forth. Good men spared not themselves to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of our ecclesiastical polity. And, as is ever almost the case, those that helped themselves were holpen. Environed we are at present with all sorts of difficulties; there is much to harass and distress, and much to perplex us; but in the midst of so many and great anxieties, it must be confessed, that our

⁴ See History of the Rebellion, b. i. vol. i. pp. 134—137. Lord Clarendon specially mentions Abp. Laud's and Mr. Chillingworth's "two books" on advancement and defence of the Protestant religion. Below he probably alludes to Selden. (See his "Table Talk," in v. Clergy.)

⁵ Life of Cromwell. Quart. Rev. vol. xxv. p. 347.

⁶ Malachi iii. 16.

estate is better than it was. The laity are alive at length to the fact that the Church is not the clergy alone, but that it appertaineth to them also, and the overshadowing of her wings is for the good of their souls and their children's.

To find the laity taking the part they are now doing is a healthy symptom. To be awake to privileges is a cause for thankfulness. Already we see good effects. The clergy are better supported; their efforts are heartily seconded; their voice is heard and listened to with attention; sacred subjects are not treated lightly; the cause of the poor destitute is advocated; charity is once more considered the end of the commandment, and it begins at home without ending there, which were a sin to be repented of. And then again, the fitness of the ministry is carefully and warily scanned, and this is for their good. They cannot sleep at their posts; they must up and be doing. The Christian soldier has taken an oath for active service, and he must be on his watch. But this is not all; for a greater benefit still accrues. The laity, watchful over the ministrations of the Church and her teachers, become watchful over themselves and over the talents committed to their trust. They employ the preferment in their hands to better use. To advance one unfit to be advanced becomes a scandal and a reproach. What has hitherto been rather acknowledged than practised, is acted up to with sincerity. And then observe the blessing, even in a worldly point of view. Those that were robbed of the Church's endowments by thoughtless politicians find conscience siding with right, and individuals doing all they can to restore that patrimony one way which a body politic voted away in another. It avails not for the enemy to say, that what was abused in inefficient hands should be taken out of those hands and distributed afresh. Parliament has rather the *power* than the *right* to acquiesce in such sentiments, which, after all, are merely agrarian. The same weapons which have been turned against the possessions of the Church may, sooner or later, be turned against the landed interest by some Jack Cade or other, and then, how will they defend house added to house, and field to field? "Away, burn all the records of the land; my mouth shall be the parliament of England!" Such things have been, such things may be again!

⁷ Second Part Henry VI. Act. iv. Sc. vii.

If ever they should, their consciences will be the more at rest who have come to the help of a wronged and a robbed Church. Pity 'tis that

“Wrong hath more clients than sincerity!”

The pressure from without has certainly turned to our good. “At the crowing of the cock of their consciences,” (it is the quaint but expressive phrase of old Fuller in the *Life and Death of Berengarius*,) many great landholders have come forward nobly, impressed with the truth that the detention of property usurped unjustly could not be defended, though the guilt of such an impropriation lay not on their shoulders. It is their desire rather to advance the inheritance of the Church than to rob it. And it is to be remarked, that this desire for restoration followed upon one of the most glaring acts of spoliation which modern days have witnessed. Esau has met his brother, and fallen on his neck and kissed him^s.

But let it not be supposed, that all blame attaches to the laity. There was a time—not so long passed—when the clergy forgot that they held the Church's property but in trust, and they ought never to have received any thing less than what was set apart from common use, and restricted to the support of the ministry. Once received, they might dispense at will; and the more abundant the distribution the better, and the more befitting their office. It was the receiving a part for the whole, and acquiescing in wrong, that, in numberless instances, curtailed our benefices. And by this means the consciences both of patrons and beneficed clergy were entrapped, though the sin of covetousness lay rather at the door of the latter,—

“For men of judgment, or good dispositions,
Scorn to be tied to any base conditions,
Like to our hungry pedants, who'll engage
Their souls for any curtail'd vicarage.
I say, there's none of knowledge, wit, or merit,
But such as are of a most servile spirit,
That will so wrong the Church as to presume
Some poor, half-demi parsonage to assume,

^s See this point referred to by Gauden in his *Hieraspistes*, p. 493. 4to. 1653. I had forgotten it when I wrote what is in the above paragraphs.

In name of all : no, they had rather quite
Be put aside the same, than wrong God's right !"

These lines are from the "Abuses Whipt and Stript"⁹ of George Wither, one of his earliest productions, published in 1613, when he was but twenty-five years of age, and it would have been well if this remarkable man, and no mean poet, had acted up in after life to what he said so well on the present occasion. But self-interest induces moral blindness, and it will scarcely be credited that a good and a conscientious man in the main, plain spoken continually to his own disadvantage, should in after years have dealt so largely in prelate and Church land, and in delinquents' estates. But such is the not unnatural result of rebellion and anarchy, and one that much loved his poems said well, that "the civil war did not leave him so uncorrupt as it had found him." So little is Wither read or known, that the lengthened extract which follows—connected with the subject—may not be unacceptable, and it may be well to hint that it was written in the reign of James I. Can it be credited, that one who wrote thus, should, thirty years later, have held so hard a grip on the patrimony of the Church !

"You to whom deeds of former times are known,
Mark to what pass this age of ours is grown ;
Even with us that strictest seem to be
In the professing of Christianity ;
You know men have been careful to augment
The Church's portion, and have been content
To add unto it out of their estate ;
And sacrilege all nations did so hate
That the mere Irish¹, that seemed not to care

⁹ Presumption, Satire iv. Reprint, vol. i. 303.

¹ Such was the common epithet applied to the Irish at that time, and it is strange that it should have continued till now. Clarendon says, (anno 1661) that the state of Ireland was "so intricate, that nobody had a mind to meddle with it," and the Duke of Ormond declared that he "could not see any light in so much darkness, that might lead him to any beginning" of improvement.—*Life*, vol. i. p. 441. Previously however to the Long Parliament, he says that "Ireland, which had been a sponge to draw and a gulph to swallow all that could be spared, and all that could be got from England, merely to keep the reputation of a kingdom, was reduced to that good degree of husbandry and government, that it not only subsisted of itself, but gave this kingdom all that it might have expected from it."—*Hist. of the Rev.* vol. i. p. 134. Alas that the Irish question is a problem still !

For God nor man, had the respect to spare
 The Church's profits ; yea, their heed was such
 That in the time of need they would not touch
 The known provisions, they daily saw
 Stor'd up in churches ; in such fear and awe
 The places held them, though that they did know
 The things therein belonged to their foe :
 But now the world, and man's good nature's chang'd,
 From this opinion most men are estrang'd ;
 We rob the Church, and what we can attain
 By sacrilege and theft, is our best gain.
 In paying dues, the refuse of our stock,
 The barrenest and leanest of our flock
 Shall serve our pastor ; whom for to deceive
 We think no sin. Nay, further (by your leave),
 Men seek not to impropriate a part
 Unto themselves, but they can find in heart
 T' engross up all ; which vile presumption
 Hath brought church-livings to a grand consumption.
 And if this strong disease doth not abate,
 'Twill be the poorest member of the state !"

Matters have come to this ; but there is something cheering in that old saying, "when things have reached the worst, they'll mend." The tide has turned, and it is to be hoped we shall take advantage of it and redeem the time. To do so, we must be diligent, availing ourselves of every opportunity, and disabusing all around us of their wrong and contracted notions respecting the Church and Church membership. It has often been remarked, that one half the world is governed by words, and that "a plausible insignificant word, in the mouth of an expert demagogue, is a dangerous and dreadful weapon²." This fallacy we must obviate.

Let any one consider what was the result, in the late disturbed state of things, of a want of knowledge on these points. In the first place, there was a loud and continued cry, like that of Edom's children, at the very mention of the Church, and the burden of it was, "Down with it, down with it, even to the ground !" So ignorant and misinformed were the bulk of the

² South's Sermons, vol. ii. p. 123.

people, that, they were for excommunicating themselves; yea, for pulling down about their own ears that branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church established in these kingdoms. That which was a blessing to them and to their offspring they were for destroying utterly:—Overturn, overturn, overturn!—was the prolonged cry, and they verily thought that, as the foundations of the nation seemed reeling and out of course, and its inhabitants drugged with a drink of deadly wine, the foundations of the Church too were tottering. That is to say, in their ignorance, they confounded an establishment with what was imperishable, whether against the madness of the people, the folly of those in high estate, or the gates of hell!

In that singularly curious book, by Antonius Macedo, the “*Divi Tutelares Orbis Christiani*,” this worthy Jesuit represents in strong colours the destructive system pursued by the English at the Reformation. Of course, he speaks as a good Roman Catholic, but his words might have been called to mind, and might have occasioned searchings of heart but a few years ago, when a misguided people were for burning up and pulling down the most sacred monuments of our forefathers in this land, even to our very cathedrals,—

“Agreed in nothing but t’ abolish,
Subvert, extirpate, and demolish³.”

“*Illi*,” says the writer above alluded to, “*omnes rationes et vias comparandæ salutis æternæ sustulerunt: sacramenta, sacramentalia, vota, sacrificia, psalmodias, meditationes, vigiliæ, flagella, jejunia, carnis macerationes exterminarunt: Aras, imagines, sacra, templa, Sanctorum patrocinia, sepulchra, et Martyrum memorias everterunt; lustrales fontes exsiccarunt; sacra lipsana combusserunt; breviaria, litanias, precarios globulos⁴ abjecerunt:*

³ Hudibras, III. ii. 143.

⁴ This may need explanation. Hoffman will supply it. “*Globuli*, in Ecclesiâ Romanâ dicuntur caleuli; quibus in coronâ B. Mariæ similique utuntur, numerando sc. tot salutationes Angelicas, totque Orationes Dominicas. Nempe centum et quinquaginta vicibus cum recitant Orat. Dom. vocant hoc *Psalterium Christi*, cum totidem salutationem Anglicam, *Psalterium Virginis*. Cui usui, ne in numero aberrarent, globuli hi seu sphæriculæ precatorie excogitatæ sunt, à Petro Eremitâ, ut plerique volunt.”—Lexicon in v. Quære? Are these *globuli* alluded to in these words in the Homily of Good Works, “*and rosaries of fifteen O’s.*” p. 60. But, see Nare’s Gloss. in v. Rosary.

jubilæa, indulgentias, benedictiones Episcopales, et Sacerdotales irriserunt: sacra omnia pessumdederunt: imo et sacros ipsos ordines extinxerunt, et loca pia, et religionem spirantia, ne qua rei sacræ exstaret memoria, exciderunt, veriti ne si starent, vel muti eorum mores novos reprehenderent, ac refutarent. Nihil reliquerunt intactum, nihil integrum, nihil sanctum, cum ipsa quoque pietatis vestigia abolerent⁵."

The above, it must be confessed, is a curious catalogue of excision to the knife, and although the *carnis macerationes* and certain other items are not to be regretted, and we have no fear as to the retention of our sacred orders, notwithstanding the digladiation of Lewgar or Le Quien, being contented with what is said by Bramhall and Courayer and others⁶, who have sifted well the subject; still Antonio Macedo's words ring in our ears, and an infuriated mob would not unwillingly have perpetrated a like destruction in the nineteenth century. Human passions and unchastened violence alter little from age to age. Folly and ignorance ran in couples for a time, and then, as he of Verulam said, the fools lead the wise. As in political movements, "*la voix populaire qui fait taire celle des sages, entraîne souvent les conseils des rois*," so is it when higher matters are at stake.

"The world is nat'rally averse
To all the truth it sees or hears,
But swallows nonsense and a lie
With greediness and gluttony⁸!"

And never was this more fully exemplified than in the exaggerated statements which were made some ten and twelve years ago with respect to the property of the Church and the enormous revenues of the clergy. The lies current during the Great Rebellion were again repeated, and history proved no better than an old almanack; no new phrase, for both Jackson and Fuller make use of it. The truth is, that misrepresentations are what demagogues, or enemies in general to the existing state

⁵ Cf. in c. "Angliâ." p. 462. Ulissipone (i. e. Lisbon), 1687. Folio.

⁶ See Palmer's Treatise on the Church. Part vi. c. x. On the Validity of the English Ordinations. Vol. ii. p. 451. First Edit.

⁷ Mallet, L'Histoire de Dannemarc, vol. vii. p. 408.

⁸ Hudibras, III. ii. 805.

of things, must start with. Though a woe be denounced against putting a stumbling-block in a weak brother's way—against calling “evil good and good evil”—it is nevertheless done day after day, and generation after generation, by such as seek, whether notoriety or precedence, regardless of the means. They know full well that the moment the minds of ignorant and misinformed people can be abused by false notions, a point is gained. A lie that lives a day will do a world of mischief.

And this was the case with reference to the revenues of the Church. The statements then made would hardly be credited now that things are more quiescent; but unluckily our enemies, backed by lords of misrule, printed their accusations, and it was necessary, as it had often been before, to contradict and to disprove. Such, indeed, was the general feeling on this hand, that a commission was appointed to “Inquire into the Revenues and Patronage of the Established Church in England and Wales,” and their report was presented in June, 1835. And what was the result? what did this enormous and untold wealth amount to? Was it found that thousands upon thousands were thrown away upon an idle and overfed clergy? Nothing of the sort,—

“Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus!”

The result was, that if the whole amount of the several benefices in England and Wales—those omitted which were attached to superior preferments—were to be divided amongst the several incumbents, their average income would not amount to more than 285*l. per annum*. Great inequalities, of course, there are and must be in the value of livings. Some certainly are very much too large; but the majority are far, far too small. All this is a point conceded; but it is one which presents great difficulties as to alteration. It is ill to meddle with vested rights. However, the lie was laid bare, and it was even found that our much abused bishops⁹, were their archiepiscopal and episcopal revenues thrown together and equally divided, would not receive more than 6000*l. per annum* at the very most. And when it is known what they have to do for what they receive, I suppose, no one that knows any thing about the matter would

⁹ This is yet true, though much has occurred since these works were written, still testifying to the truth, that *The love of money is the root of all evil*.

venture to put in further demurrer. "Let us blacken him, let us blacken him what we can," said that miscreant Harrison of our martyred king, upon the wording and drawing up his charge against his approaching trial¹⁰. It was much the same on the occasion referred to.

The value of cathedral property, together with that of collegiate churches, was investigated at the same time, and all was found to be infinitely below the exaggerated statements which were put forward as tested and proved. Something will be said in subsequent pages as to the appropriation of much of these revenues hereafter, and time must prove whether the project be wise or the reverse. Great necessities call for unwonted measures, but, after all, "honesty," perhaps, will be found to be "the best policy;" and to sell, and to exchange, and to alienate, may be thought, in less disturbed and excited times, no very long-sighted or wise proceeding. The intention is doubtless good, and the sacrifice was most likely made to prevent what is called a *further reformation*—a term which has been much used of late years, and which, it is remarkable enough, was a favourite term of the levellers amongst Presbyterians and Independents. South pithily explains its meaning: "A *further reformation* signifies no more, with reference to the Church, than as if one man should come to another and say, 'Sir, I have already taken away your cloak, and do fully intend, if I can, to take away your coat also.' This is the true meaning of this word *further reformation*; and so long as you understand it in this sense, you cannot be imposed upon by it¹."

But, whatever may be the *method* of distribution hereafter, there is this satisfaction at least, that the spoils of collegiate and cathedral institutions revert to the Church, either to the increase of poor livings, additional clergy in populous places, or to the education of the people, and we need not be pained when we read such remarks as these respecting Church revenues alienated before the Reformation. They are from the great divine before quoted, Thomas Jackson. "Our fore-elders did well in judging the *clergy* for abusing *revenues sacred*, to the maintenance of idleness, superstition, and idolatry. But would to God they had not

¹⁰ Quoted by South, vol. ii. p. 137.

¹ Vol. i. p. 203.

condemned themselves by judging them, or that they had not done the same things wherein they judged them. Happy had it been for them and for their posterity, if those large revenues, which they took from such as abused them, had been employed to pious uses; as either to the maintenance of true religion, or to the support of the needy, or to prevent oppressing by extraordinary taxes, or the like. This had been an undoubted effect of *pure religion and undefiled before God*. But it was not the *different estate* or condition of the parties on whom *Church revenues* were bestowed, that could give warrant unto their *alienation*, or which might bring a blessing upon their intended *reformation*, but the uses unto which they were consecrated, or the manner how they were employed.—Now the *manner of their employment*, no man, whose ancestors have been parties in the business, will take upon him to justify, nor have the posterity of such as were at that time most enriched with the spoils of the *superstitious Church* any great cause to rejoice at their ancestors' easy purchase." And again, by and by. "Our fore-elders (especially the nobility and the gentry of those times) did abhor idols no less than the Jews did, and yet did commit more gross and *palpable sacrileges* than the Jews, to my observation, at any time had done. And what could it boot them to deface images or pull down idols in the material churches, so long as by their very spoils they nourished that *Great Idol*, Covetousness, in their own hearts? Thus to seek to enrich themselves or fill their private coffers with the spoils of *abbeyes* or *churches*, or by tithes and offerings, was but to continue the practice of the prelacy or clergy, in destroying parishes to erect *monasteries*; or demolishing leper *religious houses* to build up others more sumptuous and luxurious?"

It was against such things as these that honest-hearted Latimer lifted up his voice, as did others of the day. But, once for all, it was well that the full meaning of a *thorough reformation* should be exemplified. And never was a declaration so clear, as that covetousness was bound up in the heart of man,—yea, even in the heart of those, whose desire, perhaps, might have been to see a better state of things, had not the *auri sacra fames* over-

² See vol. iii. pp. 686, 687.

powered it. The secret sins of men's hearts were never laid more bare than in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and during the time of the Great Rebellion. The watchword was reform; but the end was gain. Never did that politic historian speak more advisedly true, than when he said, *Cæterum, libertas, et speciosa nomina prætexuntur; nec quisquam alienum servitium, et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparit*³. It will ever be found that workers of iniquity turn "religion into rebellion, and faith into faction." There is no blotting out from our annals what led to the martyrdom of Charles I., and of the religious-hearted, but hasty-tempered, Laud⁴!

In disturbed towns the clergy can never be too cautious. Wary also they should be as regards a sort of people, who, when occasion serves, will make overtures of peace, whilst war and every dishonest motive is rankling in their hearts. There is an old saying, too, worthy to be borne in mind, that the devil is none the less the knave, when he seems to play the fool. Some such overtures of peace, and some such folly was attempted during the recent years of disturbance. Who remembers not how it was attempted, by a mock sort of pity, to raise what were called the working clergy, and working curates, into notice, by the depreciation of their ecclesiastical superiors? Who remembers not the whining, canting, tone with which the bitterest enemies of the Establishment, and of holy men, the bishops of the land, endeavoured to detract from their efficiency, as ministers of Christ, by showing, as they thought, the mean estate to which they consigned their inferior clergy? None can fail to remember this; and some, it may be, might have turned their school-boy lesson to account:—

" Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes !"

The words of sorrow and pity came from a wrong source. The tears were over-miserably expressed, and were too globular, like

³ Tacit. Histor. lib. iv. c. 73.

⁴ Clarendon mentions his "hasty sharp way of expressing himself," adding in a subsequent page, "which, upon a short recollection, he was always sorry for, and most readily and heartily would make acknowledgment." Vol. i. pp. 159 and 176. Hist. of the Rebellion. See what South says, vol. iv. p. 95.

crocodiles' ! But, in sober and serious strain, many no doubt were deluded ; and the different letters written at that time in various periodicals and newspapers attest the fact. Youth was more readily led astray ; and there were those again, whose poverty, it may be, rather than their will, consented. But the fact is none the less notorious ; and ecclesiastical superiors, who were doing all they could, whether to turn or to moderate and guide the stream of democratic violence which had set in, were hardly supported as they ought to have been. Happily, well educated and thoughtful men saw through the flimsy veil of hypocrisy which was extended for the ruin of the thoughtless, and the evil hoped for by subtlety and deceit was in a great measure averted. Harm nevertheless was done ; and there was rashness of speech, and a sort of concession made, which an adversary knew but too well how to make use of. But for the present this evil is overpast ; and the simple truth, stripped of words, is acknowledged readily,—*καὶ οὗτοι δὲ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον* ⁵. Proof of worth and ability should first be given, or ever higher advancement be looked for. When this is the case, the *working clergy* will seldom find themselves past by ; or, should they be reproached, as was Socrates of old, for having no preferment in Athens, they may make answer with him,—*It was enough for him to have fitted himself for preferment : it was other men's business to bestow it on him.* But on this head, and on all others so closely connected with unity in our Church, the business of all is to follow their great Exemplar :—

“ And through obedience travel to perfection,
 Studying their wills unto his will to bring,
 Yield trust and honour both to his discretion :
 And when they do from his example swerve,
 Beare witness to themselves they ill deserve ⁶.”

When such was the state of things, it was not to be wondered at that a low sectarian spirit, combined with mean utilitarian notions, should have increased. It is, in fact, natural ; and we may discern it to be the case, more or less, in all times of political excitement. Self-interest, and a Pharisaic spirit, personal

⁵ 1 Tim. iii. 10.

⁶ Lord Brooke. Of Humane Learning.

advancement and schism, are quite compatible. Let the earliest instances of separation and dissent from the Holy Catholic Church be fairly looked to ; let even what took place previous to the Council of Nice (A.D. 325) be impartially canvassed, and the same conclusion cannot fail to be arrived at, namely, that "*Pope Self*" has been a character more influential in the world, and has made greater conquests, than a Sesostris or an Alexander.

But one of the great peculiarities of later times is this, that individuals contrive to dissent from the Articles and the Liturgy of the Church to which they belong, and yet, by a dispensation from themselves, to remain members of the same, and to enjoy its emoluments⁷. It was curious to observe this some few years ago with what is called the Low Church. It is none the less curious to observe it now in the case of those who designate themselves the High Church, discarding the very name of Protestant. There is no better proof of the trite observation that extremes meet. Of this, however, it will be necessary to speak again, and at greater length. Meanwhile let me point out what was aimed at by separatists, who were really such, but who, as before observed, had a sufficient regard to personal aggrandizement. And rightly, as some said, for the *wicked*, by which the members of the Establishment were very commonly intended :—

" The *wicked* have no right
To th' creature, though usurp'd by might,
The property is in the saint,
From whom they injuriously detain't⁸."

From what has since transpired, there can be little doubt, I think, but that very many amongst what might be called the wildest dissenters were encouraged in the hope that the time was come when the Church of England was to be counted but as one sect, amongst many, and no longer denominated a branch of

⁷ South says of the conforming Puritan that " He is one who lives by the altar, and turns his back upon it ; one who catches at the preferments of the Church, but hates the discipline and orders of it ; one who practises conformity, as papists take oaths and tests, that is, with an inward abhorrence of what he does for the present, and a resolution to act quite contrary when occasion serves."—*Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 192.

⁸ *Hudibras*, Part I. ii. 1010.

that Holy Catholic Church throughout all the world, which had numbered saints and martyrs in her pale, and whose chief glory it was to be truly and rightfully apostolic, through that ordination which Christ had enjoined. For this reason all rites and ordinances were made light of, authority was disregarded, and, by a specious fallacy, all traditional knowledge, soberly and religiously received, was confounded with tradition, as received in the Romish Church, hereby intimating that the Church of England was no true mother, but that she held still to vain and superstitious practices, and needed liberty, almost as much as did the Jewish Church of old, from the yoke of human ordinances. Such notions were industriously spread abroad, not only in our great towns, but even in our most secluded hamlets. "Under the existing parochial system," said the party, "every village is a see, as well as Rome;" and yet again—so curiously do the phrases which Butler has preserved in his striking poem come round—whether as regards Churchman, Presbyterian, or Independent:—

"Every hamlet's governed
By's Holiness, the Church's head,
More haughty and severe in's place
Than Gregory and Boniface⁹."

And then, again, the old game was resorted to of declaring that the Gospel was not preached. This, as observers are well aware of, is the constant watchword of a separatist. Without it he can have no ground to stand on. It was thus that the Great Rebellion was blown up, and the "Gospel trumpeter" to battle sounded. It was our separatists and dissenters—as South¹ declares over and over again, in his inimitable (though sometimes bitter) Sermons, which contain perhaps the best religious history of those sad and melancholy days—that were the Pope's journeymen to carry on his work. They looked, it may be, different ways, but their end was one. By crying down the

⁹ Hudibras, Part I. iii. 1209.

¹ See especially a Sermon on Gal. ii. 5. Vol. vii. p. 514. "So that let all our separatists and dissenters know that they themselves are the Pope's artificers, to carry on his work, and do that for him, which he cannot do for himself," &c. &c.

Church of England, and depreciating her ministry, they led the way, as many of them no doubt intended, to those secessions towards Rome, which followed them, as they have done in more recent times. The poor ignorant multitude were deluded and led astray, as is ever the case—the leaders only became grand muftis—whether after Geneva's fashion or Rome's. These were they who styled themselves *the godly*, arrogating and engrossing all holiness unto themselves and their party, and doing more harm in this distracted kingdom than ever had been done before. Happy will that day be for the nation and the national Church when the ranks of Rome shall no more be fed by dissent and separation, and by those insidious distinctions of High and Low Church, which are the ruin of all peace, and a death-blow to unity! South, in an epistle dedicatory to Narcissus, Archbishop of Dublin, never spoke with deeper foresight than in the words which follow:—"Those of the ancients members of her communion, who have all along owned, and contended for a strict conformity to her rules and sanctions, as the surest course to establish her, have been of late represented, or rather reprobated, under the inodious character of High Churchmen, and thereby stand marked out for all the discouragement that spite and power together can pass upon them; while those of the contrary way and principle are distinguished, or rather sanctified, by the fashionable endearing name of Low Churchmen, not from their affecting, we may be sure, a lower condition in the Church than others, (since none look so low, but they can look as high,) but from the low condition which the authors of this distinction would fain bring the Church itself into,—a work in which they have made no small progress already. And thus by these ungenerous, as well as unconscionable practices, a fatal rent and division is made amongst us; and being so, I think those of the concision who made it, would do well to consider whether that, which our Saviour assures us will destroy a kingdom, be the likeliest way to settle and support a Church. But I question not but that these dividers will very shortly receive thanks from the Papists for the good services they have done them, and in the mean time they may be sure of their scoffs²." Sad and no less melancholy truth!

² Sermons, vol. ii. p. 226.

“ *High and Low,*

Watchwords of party, on all tongues are rife ;
As if a Church, though sprung from heaven, must owe
To opposites and fierce extremes her life,—
Not to the golden mean, and quiet flow
Of truths that soften hatred, temper strife³.”

When men's minds are disturbed, and polemics are made a stalking-horse for hidden ends, nothing established is safe ; that ancient law which declares, that “ whatever is is right,” is mischievously perverted, and such as are opposed to a destructive theory or practice, are condemned as allowing no change for the better. This common fallacy was endeavoured to be palmed on the unwary during the years of excitement to which these pages are more particularly directed. One instance I would especially refer to.

If there be one thing more than another for which we, of the Established Church, in these kingdoms ought to be thankful, it is for our beautiful and Apostolic Liturgy, in which true and vital religion, as opposed to fanaticism and inarticulate rhetorical flourishes, is cautiously provided for. Herein brevity and fulness are combined, warmth of devotion and sobriety, at the same time, being coupled together. Notwithstanding the maunderings of some discontented spirits, “ nothing,” as South says⁴, “ could have been composed with greater judgment ; every prayer being so short, that it is impossible it should weary, and withal so pertinent, that it is impossible it should clog the devotion. And, indeed, so admirably fitted are they all to the common concerns of a Christian society, that when the Rubric enjoins but the use of some of them, our worship is not imperfect ; and when we use them all, there is none of them superfluous ;” to which he adds, in conclusion, “ I know no prayer necessary, that is not in the Liturgy but one, which is this : That God would vouchsafe to continue the Liturgy itself in use, honour, and veneration in this Church for ever. And I doubt not but all wise, sober, and good Christians, will with equal judgment and affection give it their *Amen*.”

³ See Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Sonnets. Part III. xii. “ *Sacheverel*.”

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 457 and 463.

And such turned out to be the case, our enemies themselves being judges, for the very Romanists found no *fault* in it, and acknowledged it clear of deformity. They only judged it *imperfect*. As Jeremy Taylor observed, in his "Preface to the Apology for authorized and set Forms of Liturgy," their accusation was "but of imperfection, of a want of some things which they judged convenient, because the error had a wrinkle on it, and the face of antiquity. And, therefore, for ten or eleven years they came to our Churches, joined in our devotions, and communicated without scruple, till a temporal interest of the Church of Rome rent the schism wider, and made it gape like the jaws of the grave⁵." Nay more, it is said that Paul IV. offered to Elizabeth to confirm the Liturgy with his authority if she would but acknowledge his supremacy; and his successor, Pius IV., as is generally supposed, made a like offer by Vincentio Parpalia, whom he sent to England with a letter to the queen, as well as with private instructions not contained in it. Camden⁶ tells us the supposed offers were these: "That he would disannul the protest against her mother's marriage as unjust, settle the English Liturgy by his authority, and grant the use of the Sacraments to the English under both kinds, in case she would reconcile herself to the Romish communion, and bow to the supremacy of his chair." Whether this was exactly so or not is not easily discoverable now; but thus much is certain, that Pius IV. was inclined to treat with her, but on Romanist terms. Burnet says that she sent Parpalia word to stay at Brussels, and not to come over; but it seems as if he had been here, for Strype remarks in his "Annals of the Reformation," under Queen Elizabeth, that "the same Pope Pius left not off yet his dealing with the queen, but sent another nuncio the next year, named Abbot Martinegues, (Burnet calls him, Martinengo,) with other letters full of assurance of love. But she bravely refused, and slighted all these specious offers⁷."

⁵ See Works, vol. vii. p. 289.

⁶ See Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 384. Ed. folio. Pope Pius' Letter was "given at Rome, at St. Peter's, &c., 15th May, 1560, in our First Year."

⁷ See Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 835. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 340. He, I observe, writes Parpalio.

But this is a mere matter of history,—the acknowledged fact is all that is wanted; and this declares the value of the Liturgy in the eyes of the then Romanists. It was for those of later date to begin to pull to pieces this noble record of our forefathers' piety and judgment,—judgment, I mean, in paying that reverence due to antiquity, and in selecting from ancient liturgies those prayers which have been the solace and the comfort of sorrow-stricken and penitent sinners, from generation to generation, in the Holy Catholic Church throughout all the world. Let, however, disputes arise, and the Liturgy is sure to be attacked. It was the case in the Great Rebellion, when, presently, a directory was thought better than the spirit might not be stinted; “and so the worship of God was left,” as one says, “to the managing of chance, and indeliberation, and a petulant fancy.” Happily this sad estate has been averted thus far in our days, by God's great and most undeserved mercies! But how near we were to the precipice none can tell. In our troubles and perplexities there was a very general cry that the Liturgy needed mending. Those who disagreed in almost every thing else, were at one in this. “It was little better than the ancient *uses*,” said one. “It is a very cento,” said another, “out of the mass-book, pontifical, breviaries, manuals and portuises of the Roman Church⁸,”—the very thing which the ever-memorable Hales of Eaton turned to its praise, when he said, speaking of our desire for conciliation, and peace, and a united Church, “By singular discretion was our Service Book compiled by our forefathers, as containing nothing that might offend them, (*i. e.* the Romanists,) as being almost merely a compendium of their own Breviary and Missal; so that they shall see nothing in our meetings, but that they shall see done in their own; though many things which are in theirs, here, I grant, they shall not find. And here, indeed, is the great and main difference betwixt us⁹.”

Consider its contents in what light you will they are sure to be assailed by those who cannot appreciate its value, or by those who are adverse to its doctrines. The Romanist, now-a-days,

⁸ See Jer. Taylor, vol. vii. p. 290. The sense of the word *Portuise* is very well given in Nare's Glossary in v. *Portfolio*—*Portiforium*—*Porthose*, &c., are one and the same word from the French *porter*. A sort of manual to be carried about.

⁹ Of Dealing with Erring Christians, vol. ii. p. 100. Ed. 8vo.

deserts his ancient ground, and thinks there is no sure footing when he joins in a Protestant assembly. Unfortunately he, too, has his adherents, in what has been termed the extremes of the High Church,—I say, called the extremes, because the true orthodox High Churchman is as far removed from any approach towards Rome, as he is from the unsounded *bathos* of dissent. The Separatist, meanwhile, sees no beauty in those formularies which set the Arian, the Socinian, the Sabellian, the Macedonian, and all other heretics at defiance, giving “glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.” The simple truth of the matter is, that the Prayer Book of the Church of England is a barrier and a cancel against all false doctrine, heresy, and schism, and must needs be spoken against as long as the faith once delivered to the saints is maintained.

There is no stronger proof of this than the virulence with which the Athanasian Creed was attacked between the years 1825 and 1831. This Creed, together with the Baptismal Services, was, in fact, the handle all schismatics took hold of. As regards the latter there can be no difference of opinion—no well-grounded difference, I mean—with true orthodox Churchmen. Regeneration in Baptism has ever been the received doctrine in the Church of Christ. To deny this is to deny what has been a received truth from the time the Scriptures of the New Testament were written till now; neither is any exhortation more thoroughly imbued with pristine piety than that with which the sponsors are dismissed; for surely it is their parts and duties to see that the little children be “virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life; remembering always that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto Him; that, as He died, and rose again for us, so should we, who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness; continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.” There are two works on this Sacrament, which younger students will do well to be acquainted with, namely, Bishop Mant’s “Bampton Lectures,” and Bishop Bethell’s “General View of the Doctrine

of Regeneration in Baptism." They are mentioned as of more recent date, and easily accessible. Whoever is well acquainted with them will be enabled "to give an answer to every man that asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him¹." To what is here said, I would add the passage following, from the "Bampton Lectures," of W. D. Conybeare, delivered in 1833:—"With regard to Baptism, the language of the Fathers is also in strict accordance with that of Holy Writ; for both concur in designating that sacramental font as the laver of regeneration: perhaps some of the discussions which have agitated the Church on this subject, might have been abated, if not avoided, had all parties sufficiently distinguished between the initiatory admission into a state of covenant, and the development of the graces belonging to that covenant; for it is obvious that the very moment of, and admission into such a covenanted state, must challenge to itself the original inchoation of all the privileges annexed to it: and although many baptized into Christ, may yet, alas! remain unconverted to Him in heart and soul; still, whensoever any of them shall put off the death of sin, and become raised to a new life of holiness, they will necessarily refer to the covenanted mercies of God, the grace which thus becomes effectual to their souls; and of the mercies included in this relation, they undoubtedly became heirs when first numbered among Christians at the font²."

The objections raised against the Athanasian Creed were on different grounds; and it was not the doctrine so much as the damnatory clauses which were demurred at. Now, when pious and humble minded and Christian spirited men have been made uneasy by this ancient formulary of the Church, their scruples have ever met with that attention they have merited. With such we have no grounds for complaint; and we can as well agree to differ, as they can to acquiesce. And it is usually found that by degrees their scruples vanish, and they are apt to conclude that although they might rather not read it in the ears of the congregation were the choice their own, that it is still of ex-

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 15.

² See Lecture viii. p. 486. The title of these Bampton Lectures is, "An Analytical Examination into the Character, Value, and just Application of the Writings of the Christian Fathers during the Ante-Nicene Period."

cellent use, full of sound doctrine, whether written by Athanasius or no, and a Creed that ought to be retained amongst the formularies of the Church equally with the Nicene, and that commonly called the Apostles' Creed, being to be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, as the Article testifieth. These were the sentiments of the late lamented Dr. E. Burton, whose two Sermons on "Confessions of Faith," and "Defence of the Athanasian Creed," tell of how Christian a spirit he was. It is in the former that he remarks, with reference to the damnatory clauses, "If the question should be raised, whether these clauses should be retained, and read publicly in our Churches, we might perhaps be led by Christian humility and Christian charity to wish for their removal; but this is a very different thing from our saying and believing of the doctrines contained in the Creed, 'This is the Catholic faith.' We in this place have signed the articles of our Church, which say of all the three Creeds, that 'they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture;' and I would rather part with the hand that signed them, than give up one jot or one tittle of the doctrines which are contained in the Athanasian Creed³." *Digna viro sententia!* Individually I would rather this Creed retained its present position, and I gladly agree with Mr. Maurice⁴;—at the same time I think what Professor Burton said, in summing up his latter sermon alluded to, is to the purpose. "Confessions of faith, such as the Athanasian Creed, may be compared to weapons laid up in an armoury in time of peace. They are not always wanted for active warfare; and many may be unacquainted with the use of them. But when the enemy is in the field, they must be put into the hand of every faithful subject,

³ Sermons before the University of Oxford, pp. 244 and 283. Maurice's "Kingdom of Christ." Note on the Athanasian Creed at the end of the second volume. 2nd edit. Much the same view is taken in Morris's Bamp. Lect. Sermon vi. p. 162, &c. They were preached in 1791.

⁴ The same was the opinion of Hooker. See Eccles. Pol. b. v. c. xlii. § 4. Ed. Keble. "Then was the Creed of Athanasius written, howbeit not then so expedient to be publicly used as now in the Church of God; because while the heat of division lasteth truth itself enduring opposition doth not so quietly and currently pass throughout all men's hands, neither can be of that account which afterwards it hath, when the world once perceiveth the virtue thereof not only in itself, but also by the conquest which God hath given it over heresy." Vol. ii. p. 231.

and when called upon to choose his party he cannot remain neuter. I would willingly admit that salvation may be obtained without a knowledge of the Athanasian Creed. Thousands and millions of Christians have gone to their graves, who have either never heard of it, or not understood it; and I would add, that let a man believe the Scriptures, let him profess his faith in Christ in the plain and simple language of the New Testament, and he may pass through life as piously and happily, he may go to his grave with as quiet a conscience, and, more than this, he may rise again as freely pardoned and forgiven, as if he had dived into the depths of controversy, and traced the nature of the Deity through the highest walks of metaphysics. But when we say this, let it be remembered, that it is one thing not to have heard of a doctrine, and another not to believe it. To assume that all persons, who are ignorant of the Athanasian Creed, would refuse to believe it, is the part neither of a sound nor of a candid reasoner. The question which I would put is, Would they believe the contrary? We need not suppose the Church to mean, that every Christian is bound to have studied all the clauses of that Creed; but she assumes this to be his faith, if he has not heard of controversy; and if he has heard of it, she points out the conclusions, which he must allow to be true, or he must give up points of faith, to which he had already assented. Thus she provides him with tests against the errors of the Sabellian, the Arian, and the Socinian creeds: she would be happy if her members were in no danger of being assailed with these errors; but if they are, she endeavours to protect them; she knows that faith in Christ, as the begotten Son of God, is the foundation of a Christian's hope; and she cannot knowingly permit these words to be looked upon as unmeaning, to be explained away, or evaded."

But to return to the point in question. The Athanasian Creed was not chosen as a stronghold for objection by Low Churchmen, and separatists, and rationalists, (for it is curious how all unsettled minds converge to one centre,) simply because of its damnatory clauses, but really and truly because it was a Creed. The object was to malign this, and afterwards to maintain the inutility of the others, and so to get rid of Creeds altogether. And here again the unlearned were led astray, and

had no notion of the intended result, which was, by unsettling their minds, to superinduce unbelief, and, perhaps, atheism,—at all events atheistic notions. For what, in times of doubt and dismay,—what, when the Bible was a sealed book, had the poor unlettered to fall back upon, but their *Pater Noster* and their *Credo*? What, again, is so available to the right understanding of Christian verities as those clear plain words, when all and every thing is disputed, and the Bible is distorted, and its sense confused, and every sect has its text, and its interpretation, and “the prophet,” as saith Hosea, “is a fool, and the spiritual man is mad?” Say what men may, the Creeds have been preserved to Christians in all ages by the good providence of God. Heirlooms they are beyond all price; and by them the meaning of the Scriptures is protected, and the truth as it is in Jesus hedged in. What the fence of the Law was to the Jew, in some sort the Creeds are to us. George Wither never wrote more to the purpose than in the lines which follow:—

“In my religion I dare entertain
No fancies hatched in mine own weak brain,
Nor private spirits, but am ruled by
The Scriptures, and that Church authority
Which with the ancient faith doth best agree;
But new opinions will not down with me⁶.”

Under every and any circumstances, and as we desire purity of life and doctrine not to die out amongst us, the Creeds must be retained, specially the Apostles’ and the Nicene Creed, which will keep guard on all irreverent thoughts, and curb the licentiousness of private and separate fancies. “These Catholic declarations of our belief,” says Hooker, “delivered by them which were so much nearer than we are unto the first publication thereof, and continuing needful for all men at all times to know, these confessions as testimonies of our continuance in the same faith to this present day, we rather use than any other gloss or paraphrase devised by ourselves, which, though it were to the same effect, notwithstanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of Hilary unto St. Augustine hath been ever and is likely to be always true: ‘Your most religious wisdom knoweth

⁵ Hosea ix. 7.

⁶ Vol. ii. p. 261. *Nec curo*.—The reprint.

how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authority of men's names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held'.⁷”

For the present it is not necessary to refer to other portions of the Prayer Book which were struck at with a side thrust. Something will be said of different portions in the latter part of the present volumes⁸. But perhaps there is little new even here, and Hooker's fifth Book contains almost every thing which can be said on the subject;—a portion of his immortal work which ought to be carefully studied by every candidate for the office ministerial. Blessed be God! our excellent Prayer Book, second only to the Bible, its source, is still retained to our hands! At present also there seems no prurient desire of tampering with its sacred contents. May the desire for peace and quietness on this and other points be lasting!

Those who may desire to see what in days gone by was offered in the stead of the Prayer Book have only to look to the Directory, and to the no less painful than masterly sketch given by Jeremy Taylor of its emptiness in the Preface to the “Apology for Set Forms of Liturgy.” His concluding remarks, though so often quoted, are not to be passed by here, where no novelty is aimed at, and where the words of others rather than my own are given page after page. “And yet,” says he, “this excellent book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a penknife, and thrown into the fire, but it is not consumed; at first it was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears, yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers, and the Church hath been chafed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and inquietness; but it is to be hoped, that all these storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the Church of England. Indeed the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer Book had, was the

⁷ Eccles. Pol. lib. v. c. xlii. 6. The words of the original are given by Keble. “Non igitur prudentissima pietas tua, quanto plures sint in Ecclesiâ, qui auctoritate hominum in sententiâ teneantur, aut à sententiâ transferantur.” Hilar. Arelat. Epist. ad Aug. § 8. t. ii. 828.

⁸ The original work would make up two volumes.

indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing; and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach, though they might innocently intend it, yet did not, in that action, consult the honour of our Liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and an actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least, that we may not cease to love and to devise what is not publicly permitted to our practice and profession⁹." Words these which were written in a time of rebuke and blasphemy, and when the writer himself was in sore distress for the sorrows of the Church, but they are beautiful words, and the cast of solemn melancholy thrown over them only adds to their attraction. It is Giles Fletcher that says, in his "Christ's Victory and Triumph,"—

"As melting honey dropping from the comb,
So still the words that spring between thy lips;—
Thy lips, where smiling sweetness keeps her home
And heavenly eloquence pure manna sips!"

The blow struck at the Prayer Book failed as it had done before. The file was over-strong for the viper's tooth. Accordingly, the point of attack was changed, as it was when a like attack was made at a previous period of our history; and so the translation of the Bible was to undergo another of those ordeals which have ever proved beneficial in the end. Our version, it was studiously spread abroad, was corrupt; it did not give the sense of the original, to say nothing of its force; nay more, it was wilfully corrupted, and to enjoin the use of the "Authorized Translation" was but to keep the people still in darkness. It is well known to careful and diligent Parish Priests how sedulously such opinions were spread abroad. Papers and tracts were circulated with this intent, and not only so, but emissaries of evil were at work in person. An instance, and a very painful one, came under my own notice in the parish of West Tarring. An aged man lay a-dying, and was ill at rest from what he had

⁹ See Works, vol. vii. p. 312.

heard. It was not difficult to know that his spirit was disturbed; but (as is not uncommon) it was more difficult to be made acquainted with the cause. At last he confessed it, and it was but too clear that it had been a question mooted at the tavern and in the beer-shop! Never was I more impressed with the truth of those lines:—

“ Yea, prince of earth, let man assume to be,
 Nay more; if man, let man himself be God.
 Yet without God, a slave of slaves is he,
 To others wonder; *to himself, a rod;*
Restless despair, desire, and desolation;
 The more secure, the more abomination ¹⁰.”

It may be recollected that our translators of the Bible, in their Dedication to King James, made use of the following remarks: “If, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish persons, at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us, because we are poor instruments to make God’s holy truth to be yet more and more known unto the people, whom they desire to keep in ignorance and darkness; or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their own anvil; we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord.” Whether, in the present day, any popishly inclined, or whether any puritanically opposed to the Established Church in these kingdoms, urged on discordant and rebellious spirits is, perhaps, not easily ascertained; but there were malignant aspects in the times, and sundry who spoke of peace prepared themselves for the battle.

Happily those who loved our Sion were ready to defend her from the attacks of the enemy, and that more insidious attack still which imputed carelessness to the guardians of the Authorized Translation. It was presently found that this version could not be gainsayed: the consequence was that new ground had to be broken; and this was done by saying that it had been

¹⁰ Lord Brooke. Treatise of Religion.

tampered with, and was not now what it was two centuries ago. Could this attack have been substantiated, it might have done much harm by unsettling men's minds. It was necessary, therefore, to combat it, and to show that it was altogether false; and this was done well and thoroughly; and we are much indebted to some good men, who set their hands to the work, while their hearts went with it. The very reverse of the accusation was shown to be the case; and it came out accidentally that the care with which the Prayer Book had been printed for nearly two centuries was only equalled by that which had been bestowed on the English Version of the Bible:—

“Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando ullum inveniet parem¹?”

And now, after all, what is the real testimony borne to the English Translation of the Bible? It is close to the original; it is in the simplest and the plainest language; as unrivalled for the purity of its diction, as it is for its faithfulness; it is, as even Selden styled it, “*the best translation in the world*;” and, according to the combined judgment of many best able to form such a conclusion, “*It is the standard of our language*.” As Bishop Middleton observed,—in admitting that it was only in some small niceties of criticism that it could be bettered,—“It is simple; it is harmonious; it is energetic; and, which is of no small importance, use has made it familiar, and time has rendered it sacred².” And certainly this is altogether according to the truth. And it is to be borne in mind also that at the time when the Authorized Translation was made,—using as their groundwork, according to the king's instructions, first the Bishop's Bible, and then the translations severally of Tyndal, Coverdale, Matthew, Whitchurch, and Geneva,—some of the best scholars and holiest men that this nation ever knew were employed on the holy work. Hales of Eaton, in his Sermon on

¹ Hor. Od. i. xxiv. 7.

² On the Greek Article. Luke xii. 54. Ed. Scholefield, p. 314. It is to be remarked that the editor has published “Hints for an Improved Translation of the New Testament,” but this also refers rather to the niceties of language, and what he says in his Preface (pp. vi. vii.) of the venerable Translators will acquit him of any desire to unsettle men's minds. Whether his judgment is good is another thing. Hooker, as usual, is ever judicious. See Eccles. Pol. b. v. c. xix. § 2. Ed. Keble.

"Abuses of Hard Places of Scripture," bears irrefragable testimony on this head. "The most partial for antiquity," says he, "cannot chuse but see and confess thus much, that for the literal sense the interpreters of our own times, *because of their skill in the original languages*, their care of pressing the circumstances and coherence of the text, of comparing like places of Scripture with like, have severally surpast the best of the ancients. Which I speak not to discountenance antiquity, but that all ages, all persons may have their due³."

To this translation, unblemished and undefiled by human glosses, it is that we call our people. As regards the interpretation thereof, we receive that of the Holy Catholic Church; but we suppose the rule of faith, and the rule of a Christian man's life, to be pretty easily ascertained from it, especially with the Creed as a guide and a defence. It is to this Word of God that our people are invited,—a feast of holy things;—nay more, a sword of spiritual temper, proof against all the fiery darts of the wicked,—converting the soul, giving wisdom to the simple, rejoicing the heart! No wonder that workers of iniquity should endeavour to vilify what is pure, and clean, and righteous altogether! No wonder that the Romanist (whom Fulke has answered once for all in his confutation of the Rhemish Testament) should cavil at its plainness, or complain of it as literal! For as Hales of Eaton, but just referred to, has said in a preceding page, "The doctrine of the literal sense was never grievous or prejudicial to any but only to those who were inwardly conscious that their positions were not sufficiently grounded. When Cardinal Cajetan," he adds, "in the days of our grandfathers, had forsaken that view of postilling⁴ and allegorizing on Scripture,

³ Vol. ii. p. 40. Ed. 8vo.

⁴ That is, "glossing, commenting." The word is of considerable antiquity. A text of Scripture was originally read, and *post illa verba*, or the "*Postil*," was the explanation of it. The republication of Taverner's Postils will have made the word familiar to many readers. "*Postillæ*. Notæ. Sic autem maxime dicuntur notæ marginales et perpetuæ in sacra Biblia, quæ secundum verba currunt, quasi *post illa verba*, quod hæc subinde efferrent magistri, qui ejusmodi notas suis discipulis dictabant," &c. *Du Cange in v.* "Postillare—postillas scribere." *Ibid.* Spelman says in his Glossarium "Primus Bibliorum *Postillator* fuit *Hugo Cardinalis*, qui floruit an. Dom. 1240, ut notat Gesnerus, ejus opera enumerans." But *Quære?* "*To postell upon a kyry*" occurs in Skelton's Colyn Cloute, v. 755. Dyce, vol. i. p. 340.

which for a long time had prevailed in the Church, and betaken himself unto the literal sense ; it was a thing so distasteful unto the Church of Rome, that he was forced to find out many shifts, and make many apologies for himself. The truth is, (as will appear to him that reads his writings,) this sticking close to the literal sense, was that alone which made him to shake many of those tenets, upon which the Church of Rome and the reformed Churches differ." Curious ! that any amongst us should again have returned to allegorical interpretations ! But we may quit such disputes, or others of a lower character, and let—

"The *Ghibellines* for want of *Guelfs*
Divert their rage upon themselves ⁵."

Thus much it seemed not out of place to say respecting the hue and cry raised against our Authorized Translation of the Bible, and against the Liturgy. The depreciation of the clergy, of their orders, and of the sacraments, followed as a matter of course ; and the proposal to ease the Bishops of their labours in the House of Lords was but a *Tu quoque*, though happily it was not mooted *in the House, the pulse only being felt* by the Hampden of the day. But it is a circumstance not to be forgotten, that *out of the House* the Primate was grossly insulted ; and there was scarce a puritanical nickname, from "dumb-dogs" downwards, which was not applied to other such Prelates as stood in the gap, and did their duty manfully.

The question of "No Bishop" was not, as just stated, brought forward in the House ; but the Bench were advised to set their house in order, and there was no mistaking the *innuendo*. It was at the commencement of that democratic movement which all but ended in rebellion ; and very remarkable is that page in Clarendon, which speaks of the like movement in 1641, as the political aspect was lowering : "The first design," says this great historian, "that was entertained against the Church, and which was received in the House of Commons with a visible countenance and approbation of many, who were neither of the same principles nor purposes, was a short bill that was brought in, 'to take away the bishops' votes in parliament, and to leave them out in

⁵ Hales ut suprâ, p. 38. Hudibras, III. ii. 685.

all commissions of the peace, or that had relation to any temporal affairs.' This was contrived, with great deliberation and preparation, to dispose men to consent to it; and to this many of the House of Peers were much disposed; and among them none more than the Earl of Essex, and all the popular lords, who observed, 'that they seldom carried any thing which directly opposed the king's interest, by reason of the number of the bishops, who, for the most part, unanimously concurred against it, and opposed many of their other designs; and they believed that it could do the Church no harm, by the bishops having fewer diversions from their spiritual charges⁶.'"

Such, at that time, was the intimation thrown out,—insidious, as such intimations usually are. There was what Lucan calls *jus datum sceleri*; but self-interest was at the bottom of all, and lack of faith,

“ Et concussa Fides, et multis utile bellum⁷.”

And so it proved; for, although at that time and subsequently also, it was rejected in the Upper House, yet when Episcopacy was voted to be a rag of Popery, and *apprentices*⁸ were rather listened to than *prelates*, rebellion was rife, and the rights of property subverted. It was upon the first occasion, here adverted to, that the Lord Falkland and Lord Clarendon differed in opinion, to the great delight of all those whose hearts were set on anarchy. As it is well known to readers of those times Lord Falkland changed his opinion when the argument was debated six months after. He had been deceived, he said, by Mr. Hampden, who had assured him, “that if that bill might pass, there would nothing more be attempted to the prejudice of the Church.” Who is there that has not been deceived when he has trusted to members of a faction, and has hoped by such measures of conciliation to melt down to love that hate to the Established Church which is rancorous and inveterate? Notwithstanding any thing which has been said by Warburton to the contrary, the words of Lord Clarendon, when the bill was first put to the question, are the real statement of the case,

⁶ Clarend. Hist. of Reb. vol. i. p. 414.

⁷ Pharsal. lib. i. v. 2. 132.

⁸ See a Petition published, in the name of the Apprentices, against Papists and Prelates. Clarend. Hist. of Reb. vol. ii. p. 83.

viewed, that is, historically, dispassionately, and honestly :—“ It was changing the whole frame and constitution of the kingdom, and of the parliament itself; that from the time that parliaments begun there had never been one parliament where the bishops were not part of it; that if they were taken out of the House, there would be but two estates left: for that they as the clergy were the third estate, and, being taken away, there was nobody left to represent the clergy; which would introduce another piece of injustice, which no other part of the kingdom could complain of, who were all represented in parliament, and were therefore bound to submit to all that was enacted, because it was upon the matter with their own consent; whereas if the bishops were taken from sitting in the House of Peers, there was nobody who could pretend to represent the clergy; and yet they must be bound by their determinations.” It would be no difficult matter to prove all this by reference to our constitution; but it would swell these pages to too great length; and it has been done by others fully competent to grapple with the subject.

But here, again, as on the other heads adverted to, we have to return grateful thanks to the providence of Almighty God for the care taken of that branch of the Church established in these kingdoms, with Bishops of the Church at the head of it. Their enemies have overshot the mark, and the revulsion in their favour is marked and general. The ancient exhortation is received as Catholic,—“*Ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μὴδὲν πράσσειν*.” Somehow or other it seems acknowledged by all parties,—or nearly all,—that a Church without Episcopacy is somewhat *acephalous*, headless, that is, and incomplete. “For Episcopacy,” says Jeremy Taylor, “relies not upon the authority of fathers and councils, but upon Scripture, upon the institution of Christ, or the institution of the Apostles, upon an universal tradition, and an universal practice, not upon the words and opinions of doctors: it hath as great a testimony as Scripture itself hath; and it is such a government, as although every thing in antiquity doth minister to it, and illustrate or confirm it; yet, since it was before the fathers and councils, and was in full power before they had a being, and they were made up of bishops, for the most part, they can give no authority to themselves, as a body does not beget itself, or

give strength to that from whence themselves had warranty, integrity, and constitution⁹."

Look where we will to turning points in this nation we shall ever find God's blessing attendant on their ministrations. As the same writer observes, "The most glorious issues of divine benison upon this kingdom were conveyed to us by their hands." For example, there was the arrival of Augustine, which, if not an unmixed good, was accompanied nevertheless with consequences salvific¹. The British Bishops, it is true, needed not to succumb to his authority, and to that of Rome; and Bangor, at his coming, was furnished with armed men; and our Bishops long before (A. D. 314) had subscribed their names at the Council of Arles; but for all this the light of Christianity shone the brighter, specially in the south, after that conversion which took place on his arrival. By whom, again, was the Reformation so promoted as by our Bishops? And at the Restoration, those who took the oaths, and those who did not, were men not lightly to be spoken of, but left a good example behind them; though perhaps Sancroft, in his retirement, as an "*egregius exul*," was greater than at Lambeth. Neither should we omit to add to the above instances two others, which are mentioned by Jeremy Taylor,—I mean "the union of the houses of York and Lancaster, by the counsels of Bishop Moreton, and of England and Scotland by the treaty of Bishop Fox."

Indisposed as our national character may be in times of excitement to submit to authority, yet when the time for sober thought and consideration has come, and the moral drunken fit is over, it is to our credit that we revert to what is right in the main. Established rights and customs are then acknowledged to have

⁹ See the Dedication to Jeremy Taylor's "Episcopacy asserted," Works, vol. vii. p. xvii. There is a beautiful remark in § xxxv. of this Treatise. "At first, Christians were more devout, more pursuing of their duties, more zealous in attestation of every particle of their faith; and that Episcopacy is now come to so low an ebb, it is nothing; but that, it being a great part of Christianity to honour and obey them, it hath the fate of all other parts of our religion, and particularly of charity, come to so low a declension, as it can scarce stand alone; and faith, which shall scarce be found upon earth at the coming of the Son of Man." P. 154.

¹ See Evans' Tales of the Ancient British Church. All details will be found, of course, in Stillingfleet's Antiquities,—the recent edition of which from the Clarendon Press is very valuable, owing to the care bestowed on the references.

been wrongly assailed; and as regards religion, and religious ordinances, we are sure to find them upheld even by those who were readiest to pull down and to destroy. Those who are not of this mind in times of peace, are the exception and the minority. A state of unrest is not natural to any thing created; and never was saying truer than that of Lord Brooke's:—

“Each creature hath some kind of Sabbath-day.”

This time of peace—not from labour, for never was labour so fully exacted at the hands of the ministry—is now, by God's blessing, granted to us for a while,—long or short as may be. The attacks on episcopacy are still. Then, is it not a time for the efficacy of the order to make known their power and their will to edification, and to make that attachment stronger, which really exists amongst our people? Far be it for a priest to move out of his sphere, and to presume to give advice in the stead of mending his own ways, and looking after his own flock,—but one may nevertheless speak from observation; and hints may be thrown out neither useless nor unprofitable.

It is recorded of the excellent Bishop Wilson that he regularly and successively preached in all the churches of his diocese; so that his person was known throughout the Isle of Man as a “familiar face,” longed for and beloved. True enough, he had his troubles there; and there are, and ever will be, those who are set against what is good in any shape. Good, however, he did, and that on no small scale; and much of it is to be attributed to his showing himself a prelate, who thanked God for “every remembrance” of his people; in “every prayer” of his, (like St. Paul,) “making request for them all with joy.” His “fellowship in the Gospel²” was no mere form of words, but real and substantial. The consequence was as stated; and when he died, no such mourning in that island was ever known. All the inhabitants (save such as sickness, or age, or other necessity kept at home) turned out as one man to his burial; “and at every resting-place was a contest among the crowd to bear him on their shoulders; and happy were they who could pay this last sad office to their friend and benefactor³!” To

² See Phil. i. 3, 4.

³ See Life by Cruttwell. Works, vol. i. p. 212. 8vo.

this day the Manksman still tells of his good Bishop; and his name is in all the churches.

Now, some such intercourse as this is wanted in the present day; we want our Bishop to come in and to go out amongst us. A Dalai Lama system will not win souls, and the days of Prester John are past and gone! And yet, for a century and more, owing to circumstances, the Episcopate has become more and more secluded, and it has been the custom to look with less respect upon archdeacons' visitations, and to long for the presence of his ecclesiastical superior. Between the two there was the difference of obedience and love. Whereas, the efficiency of an archdeaconry, and of the rural deanery, as a body, depends upon the combination of the two, and this obediential love will be best cemented when the superintendence of a bishop's authority is developed.

Suppose it otherwise, and a change will soon come over the face of things. For example, If some Prelate, at any time, or in any place, should insult a whole archdeaconry, induced so to do, either through COLLEGIATE NEPOTISM, or some SMALCALDIAN or FAMILY COMPACT. In that case, an additional instance is afforded for the wish, now so often expressed, that the Government had a VETO upon Episcopal appointments. "The Government," the objector aptly says, "*cannot* do things in a corner; a Prelate *may*." Certainly, with an holy, upright Episcopate, it were better things remained as they are,—but, there is a point beyond which Caoutchouc cannot stretch, and so it is with the patience of those who must look on contumely, enduring with all reasonable endurance! Had Chapters, with Bishops and Deans in Conclave, done their duty, there had been no place for Commission after Commission! And this has given cause to say, "There has been for a long time too much over-reaching going on, and when there is a race between Prelates and Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as to who shall *grab* a living first, there is little chance of open and righteous dealing, and fair play in a diocese." "Imagine," says another, "such a case as this." Owing to new arrangements in our dioceses (introducing again virtually PECULIARS done away with by the Order in Council, January 2nd, 1846), certain livings are to devolve upon "FOREIGN," *i. e.* extra-

diocesan Bishops. To obviate this, you shall see the chariot and the horsemen of a Prelate astir by nine o'clock in the morning, thoughtless of his diocese, to serve a friend. "There is no time for consideration," quoth our Basil or Athanasius! "Take it at once for your son, or it will be gone!" As some heathen might have said,

"Occupat extremum scabies, mihi turpe relinqui est."

And thus, notwithstanding many and great reforms, a Diocese has to mourn, "*At tu victrix provincia ploras!*"

But to return. It is to be confessed, that the present generation has seen little of Episcopal Intercourse. A little child, some six or seven years ago, was told that the Bishop was coming to stay at his father's house at the time of a Confirmation, and, one must suppose, that his arrival was somewhat talked of; at least, the child was impressed with certain notions of awe, and formed infantine syllogisms for himself. The morning after his arrival, (and a good-natured Christian spirit he was,) the little boy remarked by piecemeal to his mother, "He has eyes—he has a nose—he has a mouth;" and when she was wondering what would come next, the child innocently ended by observing, "Mamma! after all he is but a man!" And not much dissimilar has been the surprise of many of our people. A Bishop has but been known amongst them at a Visitation—a Confirmation—an Ordination—or on some other pointed occasion; not as the Angel of the Church; not as the spiritual father of the diocese; not as one whose bowels of compassion yearned for "poor and needy people, and all strangers destitute of help⁴." And yet, on the delivery of the Bible at their consecration, all this was implied when words such as these were recited: "Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost. Be so merciful, that you be not too remiss; so minister discipline that you forget not mercy;" and again in the last prayer but one: "so endue him with thy Holy Spirit, most merciful Father, that he, preaching thy Word, may not only be earnest to reprove, beseech, and rebuke with all patience and doctrine; but also may be to such as believe a wholesome example, in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity, and in purity."

⁴ See the Consecration of Bishops.

All of this implies more or less intercourse with clergy and people, and it is because this has not been kept up, that love and respect have grown cold, and most that remained was what Lucan calls, the *magni nominis umbra*. But here again there is a change for the better, and there is a greater intercommunion than there was, and it is hoped that we may see it increasing day by day, and year by year. It is not to be denied, that our bishops are harassed by all sorts of business, and by too much also that is secular; nevertheless, a great part of the year (without intrenching on parliamentary attendance) may be spent in their sees, and every additional day spent there, with the determination towards real usefulness, must be registered for good. And what results might we expect? Increased activity amongst the clergy, together with a closer union of the laity—more painful preaching of the Word in those pulpits which the bishop would occupy as occasion called—stricter parochial supervision, that so the bishop might be less pained in those censures which he would pass in person—greater unity—a fuller attendance at the altar. Supposing also a bishop in circuit, and visiting the parishes of his diocese, he would then be enabled to mark their actual state, and to possess himself of that parochial knowledge which is indispensably necessary to the proper fulfilment of those words of Jude, “And of some have compassion, making a difference: and others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.” A bishop thus in circuit would be enabled as well to praise the Christian-hearted ones, as to punish the impenitent. Imagine our lonely cottages once enlivened by the presence of the bishop of the diocese! Imagine some good and aged Simeon, about to depart, purposely visited by his diocesan, and absolved in the name of Christ! Such an event, seen once and again in our secluded and distant hamlets, would do more to strengthen the hands of the clergy, and to perpetuate the love which after all exists, though dormant, towards the Episcopate, than all the harangues with which St. Stephen’s ever re-echoed!

It is curious, throughout his remarkable sermons, to observe how honest Maister Latimer deprecates what he styles page after page “unpreaching prelates,” and he tells a quaint story, in the sixth sermon preached before King Edward VI., how that

the people of a town at which he stopped on his way homeward from London could not listen to his sermon, because it was Robin Hood's day. "I was fain there," he adds, "to give place to Robin Hood: I thought my rocket should have been regarded, though I were not: but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men⁵." Well enough did he think the realm ill provided for in that Robin Hood was preferred to God's Word! But, continues he, "if the bishops had been preachers, there should never have been any such thing." The good man, however, stated that he was in better hopes then, and he thought King Edward would see to it. On another occasion, speaking of the insurrection in the north, 27 Henry VIII., 1535, he gives it as his opinion that this disturbance amongst the people had not happened, if our bishops of England had been "shod for the preparation of this Gospel⁶," and had endeavoured themselves to teach and to set it forth; and in his sermon of "The Plough," when he tells (after his manner) of the "most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the

⁵ See vol. i. p. 187. Reprint Ed. Watkins. Robin Hood's Festival was on the first and succeeding days of May. See Ritson's Robin Hood, vol. i. p. xcvii. &c., and Ellis's Edit. of Brand's Pop. Ant. vol. i. p. 142, &c. It is curious to observe how in England we engraft foreign customs on an indigenous stock. This is well illustrated in the inseparable connexion there now is with Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and the *Moresco*—or *Moorish*—or *Morris-dance*. Some have even made Marian a foreigner, whether from the Latin "*Morio*," or from the Italian "*Morione*," or from "*Morian*" used for *Moor*. Add to the above references Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 312, 2nd Ed., and Douce's Dissertation on the Ancient Morris Dance at the end of his Illustrations of Shakspeare.

⁶ Sermon on the Epistle read on the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity. See vol. i. p. 28. Few probably but have read somewhere or another the passage alluded to above. Latimer's answer to his own question is: "I can tell, for I know him who it is; I know him well. But now I think I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you: it is the Devil! He is the most diligent preacher of all other; he is never out of his diocese; he is never from his cure; ye shall never find him unoccupied; he is ever in his parish: he keepeth residence at all times; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when you will he is ever at home; the diligentest preacher in all the realm; he is ever at his plough; no lording nor loitering can hinder him; he is ever applying his business, ye shall never find him idle I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery." Vol. i. p. 65. Perhaps he is even as diligent still, and as well entertained!

rest in doing his office," he takes care to say, that "as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustentation of the body, so diligently must the prelates and ministers labour for the feeding of the soul; both the ploughs must still be doing, as most necessary for man."

Such passages as these are extremely valuable, and we may well apply them to our own times, though Popery is not rampant as it was then, and Popish bishops are not to be withstood, and the locality of Melipotamus is scarcely known. But the time *is* come when the name and the spiritual power of the Prelacy may be effectual amongst us to the greatest good, and when the love they shall bear to their dioceses may be returned a thousand-fold. They have the work of the Great Bishop of the flock to do, and if done well and with a heart devoted to his service, the Great Bishop and Shepherd of souls will reward them after his abundant mercy! Let us be thankful that our bishops are alive to all this; that, as a body, they are holy, self-sacrificing men; that they were unimpeachable when the disturbances adverted to were rife; that when sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion,—together with their accompaniments, false doctrine, heresy, and schism,—were rending and tearing the land for its many and great iniquities, they wept between the porch and the altar, and the plague was stayed. Happily for us, were Colin Clout, as Skelton sings, to go about, and to wander once more, and hear what the people had to say about their bishops, these lines would not be true:—

" The temporality say plain
How bishoppes disdain
Sermons for to make,
Or such labour to take;
And for to say trouth,
A great part is full slouth,
But the greatest parte
Is for they have but smal arte
And right sclender cunningg
Within their heads wunning⁷."

Barclay remarks in the *Argenis*, "*plures existimem exemplo*

⁷ See Skelton's "Boke of Colin Clout."

*quam ingenio peccare*⁸;"—a truth, though perhaps not quite consistent with that Sin Original which besets us all. Couple it, however, with what he says in a preceding page, and it is a whole truth. "*Nihil antiquius esse debet quàm recedere à vitiorum periculis jam tot mortalium exitio infamibus. Ea verò pericula partim nobis insita habemus; partim ab aliis in nos incurrunt.*"

With this in view it is that the volumes to which these pages are the Introduction are written. We have been living in disturbed and stirring times, and, as is usual, all sorts of fallacies have had their swing and been in vogue. Matters political and more general are passed by; those which appertain to the Church and Church subjects are more particularly adverted to. They are consistent with my calling as a clergyman of the United Church of England and Ireland, and they are dwelt upon with earnest solicitude, and with the humble prayer that breathing time and quiet may be granted to us for more Christian perseverance, and for exertion in the cause of truth more combined and more riveted. At present the storm may be rather lulled than passed. If so,—and it is safer to think so,—the tighter we can draw the knot⁹ of humility the surer will be the bond of perfectness, and the better our hope of help in the time of need. Those that help themselves, with full assurance of faith, will be holpen.

The points referred to in this Introduction, as historically shown, are continual points of attack, when the established order of things is out of course. Some may be considered more or less interesting, but thoughtful men will admit them all to be painful. Other matters will be referred to in the course of the Colloquies¹⁰ themselves; and as the material is heavy, the pages will be lightened by the insertion, now and then, of literary or antiquarian matter, and extracts, whether from our poets or other writers, such may interest, and at the same time instruct, more general readers. The quaint words with which Walter Pope ends his first chapter of the "Life of Seth Ward," sometime Bishop of Salisbury, will explain, in an amusing way, what some

⁸ Argenis, lib. v. pp. 513. 512. Ed. 1664.

⁹ The original of St. Peter, i. 5, is, *τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε*. On which word see Commentators.

¹⁰ The original Title of the Work was to have been "Colloquies on the Church and Church Subjects."

may refer either to Conversations or Colloquies. Not however that my intent was like his, for I was delighted with the interlocutory form even from boyhood, when the Colloquies of Erasmus¹ were put into my hand, and this delight was certainly not lessened, but increased tenfold, on the publication of his Colloquies by the lamented Southey. But hear Seth Ward's notions about his little book. "I at first designed to have written it in a continual narration, without breaking it into chapters, making any reflections, or adding any digressions; but upon second thoughts, which usually are the best, I steered another course. I have cut it into chapters, which may serve as benches in a long walk, whereupon the weary reader may repose himself, till he has recovered breath, and then readily proceed in his way. I have also interwoven some digressions, which, if they are not too frequent, foreign, impertinent, and dull, will afford some divertisement to the reader."

I should not forget to say that one subject has been purposely omitted in this Introduction; the subject, I mean, of the so-called Oxford Tracts. It has not been dwelt upon here, where it might have been expected, because the good, and *the more recent evil*, of those publications form part of these Colloquies, and will be found in the second volume. We must not be slow to admit that at their commencement they were productive of much good, and tended to stem many of the evils which have been referred to above. *O si sic omnia!* They told unwelcome truths, and they maintained the doctrines of the Church through good report and through ill report! The beautiful stanzas following from Lord Brooke's Treatise of Religion had, in their earlier pages, befitted them well:—

" But as there lives a true God in the heaven
So is there true religion here on earth :
By nature ? No, by grace, not got, but given ;
Inspired, not taught ; from God a second birth :
God dwelleth near about us, even within,
Working the goodness, censuring the sin.

¹ Aubrey says in his *Lives of Eminent Men*. "His deepest Divinity is where a man would least expect it : viz., in his Colloquies in a Dialogue between a Butcher and a Fishmonger, 'ἰχθυοφαγία.'" *Letters from the Bodleian*, vol. ii. p. 342.

“Such as we are to Him, to us is He,
 Without God there was no man ever good;
 Divine the Author and the matter be
 Where goodness must be wrought in flesh or blood:
 Religion stands not in corrupted things,
 But virtues that descend have heavenly wings!”

Possibly on some points I may have expressed myself too strongly. One could especially wish not to have said any thing displeasing, but, after all, that must depend on circumstances; and it may, or it may not be, for the saying of the old Grecian is true: *Φορτικὸν τὸ Ἀληθές*. I trust, nevertheless, that I am a moderate son of the Church². Her doctrines I must defend to the uttermost, and although I can as little agree with Dissenters and Separatists as I can with Roman Catholics, the rebellious or the profane, yet I hope my compassion, like the religion I profess, is Catholic, and that I may fearlessly protest against what is openly wrong, and still be in charity with all men! And I am not aware that I can express this better than by extracting from the works of Jeremy Taylor the beautiful tale of Abraham and the Fire-worshipper . . . a poetical version of which I am permitted to affix to this Introduction by the kindness of that most amiable and invaluable, and no less talented woman—the widow of the lamented Southey.

“When Abraham sat at his tent door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travail, coming towards him, who was a hundred years of age. He received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down: but observing that the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven. The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other God. At

² I would willingly recommend “Pullen’s Moderation of the Church of England.” It has lately been republished by the Rev. Robert Eden. In a sentence below I had in view the passage following from Hales of Eaton’s Sermon. On dealing with Erring Christians.

“There is no kind of man, of what life, of what profession, of what estate and calling soever, though he be an heathen, and idolater, unto whom the skirts of a Christian compassion do not reach. St. Paul is my author: Gal. ii. 4. As therefore our religion is, so must our compassion be, Catholic.” Vol. ii. p. 60. Ed. 8vo.

which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry, that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night, and an unguarded position. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked him where the stranger was: he replied, 'I thrust him away because he did not worship Thee.' God answered him, 'I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured me; and couldst not thou endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble?' Upon this, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction! Go thou and do likewise, and thy charity shall be rewarded by the God of Abraham³."

ABRAM AND THE FIRE-WORSHIPPER.

I.

"In his tent-door at eventide
 The Father of the faithful stands,
 With upraised hands
 Shading his sight
 From the low-slanting light,
 As thro' the palms on either side,
 And over the red sands,
 And thro' the glowing haze,
 He sends abroad a wistful gaze,
 Belated traveller haply to discern,
 And make him turn,
 Into the tent that night
 An honour'd guest,
 To comfort there his heart with food and rest!

II.

"And lo!
 As at the wish appears
 Bowed down with weight of years
 More than of weariness, an aged man!—

³ Works, vol. viii. p. 232. *Liberty of Prophesying*. Jeremy Taylor speaks of the tale as "a story which I find in the *Jews'* books." It is in fact from the Persian poet Saadi. See notes to *Jer. Taylor's Life*, by Heber, vol. i. p. cclxv. Note xx. *Jer. Taylor* took it from the "*Historia Judaica*," &c., by G. Gentius.

White was his beard as snow,—
 Feeble and slow
 His tottering gait !
 But Abram doth not wait
 And while one ran
 To bid prepare the bath, makes haste to meet
 The slow advancing feet ;
 And ‘ Turn in here, my Father ! and eat bread,
 And with thy servant rest to night,’—he said.

III.

“ They have wash’d the desert sands
 From the stranger’s burning feet, —
 They have pour’d upon his hands
 Pure water, cool and sweet,—
 And now they set on meat,—
 And with sweet sense of rest
 The way-worn guest
 Prepares to eat.—
 But, ‘ Hold !’—with lowering brow
 Of dark surprise
 The entertainer cries—
 ‘ Man ! what art thou
 That bowest not the head,
 Nor prayer hast said
 To the Most High, before thou breakest bread ?’

IV.

“ Meekly the man replies,
 Uplifting his dim eyes—
 (Dim now with tears
 As with his hundred years,)
 ‘ Oh let not my lord’s ire
 Wax hot against me now :—
 Thy servant doth not bow
 To gods of wood or stone :—
 I worship One alone,
 To whom all souls aspire—
 The Everliving One—
 The sacred Fire !’

V.

“ ‘Hence, heathen ! from my door,
 Pollute my place no more :’
 In zeal for the true God cries Abram then
 ‘Nor *there* must thou be laid
 Under that palm-tree’s shade,—
 ’Twould wither at the root,
 Nor evermore bear fruit,—
 Accursed among men !
 Back to the howling wilderness again,—
 Go forth, and see,
 If there thy God will seek and cherish thee !’

VI.

“ Meekly the man obeys.
 He takes his staff,—
 While from behind is heard a mocking laugh—
 And foot-sore and in pain,
 And hungry and athirst, goes forth again
 Into the lonesome night :
 Nor for that sight
 Relenteth Abram.—In the tent he stays
 Sternly resolved, and says
 With self-complacency devout :—
 ‘I have done well—I have cast out
 The unbelieving thing abhorr’d,—
 So be it ever with thy foes, O Lord !’

VII.

“ Then spake a voice, and said :
 ‘Where Abram is thy guest ?’
 * * * * *
 ‘Thou knowest best
 Who knowest all things,’—straight withouten dread
 Abram replies :—
 ‘Thou knowest well, ALLWELL !
 That I am very jealous for thy name,
 And strong to put to shame
 Thine enemies.—
 And even now,

(His hundred years of sin be on his head!)
 Have I not thrust out one who unto Thee
 Never made vow,
 Nor bent the knee?
 ALLJUST! for this good deed remember me!

VIII.

“ ‘ Ill, Abram, hast thou done ’—
 The voice made answer then—
 ‘ Have I not made the sun
 To shine upon all men?
 Mine every one!—
 And couldest not thou forbear
 One hour with him an hundred years my care,
 Whom *I* have borne with, tho’ he knew me not,—
 He the untaught—
 Go,—bring thy brother back,
 Nor let him lack
 Love’s service!—Peradventure so to win
 From ignorant sin
 Of foul idolatry
 A soul to me!’

IX.

“ The word was spoken—
 The heart of pride was broken—
 Gone was the blindness—
 Softened to loving kindness
 The zealot mood—
 ‘ Lord! Thou alone art good!
 And I am naught;—
 The ill that I have wrought
 Forgive me now,—
 There is none good but Thou!’

X.

“ So Abram spake,—heart chastened,—
 And forth in anxious quest
 Of the despised guest—
 Despised no longer—hastened
 And with his servants sought

Not long in vain.
Small progress he had made, the man forlorn,—
Aged, and weak, and worn ;—
And found, they brought him to the tent again
With tenderest care,
To honourable entertainment there—
Soft rest and choicest fare—
And Abram waited on his guest that night
Self humbled in his sight !”

C. A. SOUTHEY.

No. I.

Parochial Fragments, &c.,

Appertaining to Chiefly the Parishes

OF

West Tarring, Heene, and Durrington.

“Heaps of written thoughts,—gold of the Dead
Which time does still disperse, but not devour.”

DAVENANT'S *Gondibert*, Canto v.

“In troubled water you can scarce see your face ; or see it very little, till the water be quiet, and stand still. So in troubled times, you can see little truth ; when times are quiet and settled, then truth appears.”

SELDEN'S *Table Talk*, p. 215. Singer.

“Nec nos impedit illa ignava ratio quæ dicitur ; appellatur enim quidam à philosophis ἀργός λόγος, cui si pareamus, nihil omninò agamus in vitâ.”

CICERO *de Fato*, c. xii.

“In doubtful cases, in other men's actions, when it appears not evidently, whether it were well or ill done, where the balance is even, always put in your charity, and that will turn the scale the best way. Things which are in themselves but misinterpretable, do not you presently misinterpret ; but allow some grains to your gold, before you call it light ; allow some infirmities to any man, before you call him ill.”

DONNE'S *Sermons*, p. 165. Folio.

“Of studie toke he moste care and hede,
Not a worde spake he more than was nede ;
And that was saide in forme and reverence,
And short and quike, and full of high sentence,
Souning in moral virtue was his speche,
And gladly wolde he learne and gladly teche.”

CHAUCER : *Canterbury Tales*.

Fragments on Church Subjects,

AND

On Parochial Matters.

EUBULUS.

THE gale still continues, though moderated. As the gusts and squalls during the night were less fitful, I am inclined to think it will lull by sunset. In St. Matthew, xiv. 32, our version has "*the wind ceased*," but the Greek to me has always appeared very expressive—ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος.

ALETHES.

And so it has to me, notwithstanding the remark of that arch-critic, Longinus, who, referring to a passage in Herodotus, calls the use of it ἄσεμνον καὶ ἰδιωτικόν¹. In the New Testament the usage of the term is borrowed from the LXX. It occurs, for instance, in the prophet Jonah, i. 11, 12; but the most striking example is in the Book of Numbers, xvi. 48: Καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις, "*And the plague was stayed*."

EUBULUS.

Where, I observe, the metaphor is in like manner expressed by a plain English word.

ALETHES.

Just so. And I confess I am quite contented with our Version as it is. The language is clear and intelligible—the sense almost

¹ See Herod. lib. vii. c. 191, and Longin. π. γψ. xliii. 1.

always given in the plainest terms—no single doctrine compromised from the first chapter in Genesis to the last in the Revelation. Critical readers will individually be impressed with the deeper import of the original, as, for example, in the case we have just referred to, but the plain unlearned man, who reads to edifying, will have his heart equally enlarged. There is food for every palate there, and the spiritual manna is suited to each one's taste.

EUBULUS.

The plain and racy English of our Bible Translation is, I conceive, the standard of our language. It is to us, what Luther's translation is to the Germans; and the sooner the better they quit their present inverted modes of speech, and return to it.

ALETHES.

We too should be more intelligible, and perhaps more intelligent, if we looked to the words, as well as the spirit of our own version. But, whether we do or no, God grant the doctrine be taken heed to, and our practice fashioned accordingly!

EUBULUS.

Never did mortal man join more sincerely in that prayer than I do now! The time is come when God's Word should have free course in this land, and if it have not, terror and astonishment will eat up the inhabitants of it. If God's Spirit and God's Word do not animate the mass of ungodliness now weltering and festering in the sight of the sun, ruin must betide us. If the leaven of iniquity be not leavened with good, corruption and moral putrefaction must ensue. No human effort must be spared, but we must, one and all, labour in the Lord, if we hope to avert that dreadful catastrophe which will be sure to be the result of a people "destroyed for lack of knowledge." (See Hos. iv. 6.)

ALETHES.

On a future occasion I wish much to discuss the subject of education. Much is doing, and much remains to be done. Meanwhile, at all events, "*Occurrendum augescentibus vitiis, et medendum est*."² We can all do something, however little, and that must be done.

² Plin. Epist. ix. 37.

EUBULUS.

Would that all were impressed with this truth !

ALETHES.

Let that pass for the present. To-day, Eubulus, I wish to revert to the conversation of yesterday. You studiously avoided saying any thing of the learned Selden, save and except when any immediate reference to his "History of Tythes" required it. I should much like to know your opinion of that great man—for such he was—and to hear if any thing traditional remains of him in the parish where he was born. But first of all say who was that old man whose voice I heard in the hall ; I should know it well, methinks !

EUBULUS.

You know *him* well too, Alethes. He is one of a race almost extinct—an honest man with infirmities—old James Long, the Parish Clerk. Seventy and five years, man and boy, he has heard these Church bells call to prayer ; forty and five years he has officiated as clerk and sexton. When his turn to depart comes, I question if his place will be better filled. Obstinate, at times, as a quadruped I need not name, he is shrewd and intelligent, plain-spoken and trustworthy. A chronicler of bygone days he is familiar with every one's history, and his local knowledge is extensive. He takes heed to no changes, and is one of the most independent of the creation ; respectful withal, and devotedly attached to his successive masters, as he familiarly calls the clergy. He is a keen observer, and has great knowledge of character. Otherwhiles,—to use a Sussex phrase,—his occupation is that of a gardener, and he has kept a diary for forty years and more. The first thing he does, when his day's work is over, is to jot down his casual observations, more particularly as regards the weather. Some time ago he was offered a considerable sum of money for this document, but he declined to take it ; and he was right. It is his *familiar* ! He and his old wife—(you recollect that excellent woman)—are travelling fast down the vale of years. Whichever goes first, the other will not be long behind. The benison of heaven rest on them both ! I am fond of the old people, you know ; and to him, perhaps, I may have done a good turn in my ministerial capacity. Her heart was set

on righteousness before. It would go hard with me to read the Funeral Service over *their* graves, Alethes ! I should not dare to trust myself. If that day arrives whilst I am here, I must join the mourners ! Perhaps the old man cannot say,—

“ In my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors to my blood ;”

but, nevertheless, his “age is as a lusty winter, frosty, but kindly³.”

ALETHES.

Well do I know the honest pair. I shall not leave you without seeing them. But tell me, Eubulus, what was he so earnest about ?

EUBULUS.

He came to speak of a Mortuary which he thought was his master's due. Mortuaries are still paid in this parish, according to the regulations of the statute 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6. The rates there are,—half a noble, a noble, and an angel, *i.e.* 3s. 4d., 6s. 8d., and 10s. The latter is the highest sum specified ; in fact, the only Mortuary collected here. Any person who dies possessed of 40*l.* and over is liable, by custom, to this payment. It is curious, I think, that the mark, *i.e.* 13s. 4d., was not made the *ne plus ultra*, as most other dues in this parish are so regulated, and indeed were so calculated throughout the nation.

ALETHES.

Curious enough, Eubulus, I was about to ask you yesterday as to the payment of Mortuaries, but we had so much other interesting matter before us, that it slipped my memory. As it is a custom not altogether separate from tithes, I wish, before we turn to Selden, you would refer to your notes.

EUBULUS.

Willingly ; but I have nothing more to tell you than what you may read in Blackstone. It was only the other day that I had occasion to examine what was said in Bracton, Lyndwood,

³ Shakspeare, “As you Like it,” Act II. Since this was written the both are departed !

and in Du Cange (in v. Mortuarium), and I may as well read to you the passage from Blackstone, as it contains the pith and substance of what others have written.

“ Mortuaries are a sort of ecclesiastical heriots, being a customary gift claimed by and due to the minister in very many parishes on the death of his parishioners. They seem originally to have been, like lay heriots, only a voluntary bequest to the Church; being intended, as Lyndewood informs us from a constitution of Archbishop Langham, as a kind of expiation and amends to the clergy for the personal tithes, and other ecclesiastical duties, which the laity in their lifetime might have neglected or forgotten to pay. For this purpose, *after* the lord's heriot or best good was taken out, the second best chattel was reserved to the Church as a mortuary: ‘*si decedens tria vel plura cujuscunque generis in bonis suis habuerit animalia, optimo cui de jure fuerit debitum reservato, Ecclesie sue à quâ Sacramenta recepit, dum viveret, sine dolo, fraude, seu contradictione quolibet, pro recompensatione subtractionis Decimarum personalium, necnon et oblationum, secundum melius animal reservetur, post obitum, pro salute animæ sue*’⁴. ‘And therefore, in the laws of King Canute, this mortuary is called the soul-scot (*i. e.* *jarplyceat*) or symbolum animæ.’ ‘It was anciently usual in this kingdom to bring the mortuary to the Church along with the corpse when it came to be buried; and thence it is sometimes called a *corse-present*; a term which bespeaks it once to have been a voluntary donation. However, in Bracton's time, so early as Henry III., we find it riveted into an established custom; insomuch that the bequests of heriots and mortuaries were held to be necessary ingredients in every testament of chattels. ‘*Imprimis autem debet quilibet, qui testamentum fecerit, dominum suum de meliori re quam habuerit recognoscere; et postea Ecclesiam de aliâ meliori*’; the lord must have the best good left him as a heriot, and the Church the second best as a mortuary. And yet this custom was different in different places; ‘*in quibusdam locis habet Ecclesia melius animal de consuetudine; in quibusdam se-*

⁴ As the words are not given exactly by Blackstone, I quote them direct from Lyndwood, lib. i. tit. iii. p. 19. Ed. 1679. See Blackstone, b. ii. c. xxviii.—iv. vol. ii. p. 424. Ed. Chitty.

*cundum, vel tertium melius; et in quibusdam nihil: et ideo consideranda est consuetudo loci*⁵.”

ALETHES.

Altogether an interesting account, and your Churchmen of those days evidently looked well to the main chance! But was the *corse-present* the same with the mortuary?

EUBULUS.

I lament to say that canons exist which forbid exactions at funerals. Human nature is the same in priest and peasant! Let this be an answer to the former part of your remark; but observe at the same time that the Church was ready to correct herself and prune her own vines,—*Ut vineta egomet cœdam mea!*

With reference to the question, as to whether the *corse-present* and the *mortuary* were one and the same, there is a difference of opinion. Selden⁶ and Blackstone think they were. Cowel, in his Law Dictionary,—a very curious and valuable work, notwithstanding any original defect,—says that the mortuary took this name *after the Conquest*. Stillingfleet, “Of the Duties and Rights of the Parochial Clergy,” argues that the mortuary was a settled payment, whereas the *corse-present* was a free oblation. The volume is on the shelf, and I will read the words. “That the prevailing custom became the standing law as to mortuaries appears by Statute of 21 Henry VIII. c. 6, which limits the payment where the custom continued, but allows liberty of *free oblations*. And this *free oblation* was then called *cors presente*, and was distinct from the mortuary, in lieu of tithes, as appears by the instances in Sir W. Dugdale⁷.” I may remark, by the way, from Cowel, that mortuaries, “by custom, in some places of this kingdom, are paid to the parsons of other parishes, as the corpse passes through them.”

⁵ Bracton, lib. ii. c. 26. Flet. lib. ii. c. 56.

⁶ Selden, Hist. of Tythes, p. 1223.

⁷ See vol. i. p. 249. Ed. 8vo. 1698. Cowel, Law Dictionary in v. “*Mortuarium*.” In Du Cange the Mortuary is called a *Canonica portio*,—but I cannot make good his reference in my copy of Martene. His words are (in v.) “quod jus *Canonica portio* dicitur in Statutis Eccl. Cadurc. apud Martene, tom. iv. Anecd. col. 736.”

ALETHES.

Before we quit the point let me ask the meaning of the term "*principale legatum*." Is it not applied to a mortuary?

EUBULUS.

It is; and is so used in a Constitution of Archbishop Winchelsea in Lyndwood. The words there are: "*In petitione autem principalis legati volumus quod consuetudo Provinciæ cum possessione Ecclesiæ observetur; ita quod Rector Ecclesiæ, si fuerit, vel Vicarius, in petitione suâ, vel Capellarius annuus Deum in petitione illâ habeat præ oculis*." On which Lyndwood remarks, "Istud alibi dicitur mortuarium *suprà de consue. c. i.*, hîc verò vocatur Principale Legatum, quia decedentes solebant, et in quibusdam partibus adhuc solent, optimum vel secundum optimum suum animal primò, et ante cætera legata Deo, et Ecclesiæ pro animâ suâ legare *." His remarks on the latter words of the Constitution are in accordance with the Canons I above referred to; "non enim decet, ut viri Ecclesiastici sint improbi exactores."

ALETHES.

Are mortuaries still recoverable where they have been used to be given?

EUBULUS.

Yes; by the statute of *Circumspectè agatis*, 13 Edw. I. Stat. 4. But on this head I would refer you to the new edition of Burn's Ecclesiastical Law; a useful, though ponderous and expensive work.

ALETHES.

You did not say what was the worthy old clerk's difficulty.

EUBULUS.

It was this. A woman—(a good woman she was!)—had died possessed, in her own right, of landed property, her husband still surviving; but the property passed to her two sons. The clerk wished to know whether the mortuary was payable now.

* See Lyndwood, Provinciale, lib. iii. tit. 16. p. 196. The following instance is given by Cowel in v. *Principal*. *Item lego equum meum vocatum le Baygelding, ut offeratur ante corpus meum in die sepulturæ meæ, nomine Principaliî. Ult. volun. Johannis Marclefield, Hen. V. Selden quotes a similar instance, p. 1223.*

ALETHES.

And what was your reply? I am sure I could not have answered the question.

EUBULUS.

I think it is Bishop Hall says in his Satires,—

“And clever clerks but wooden lawyers ben.”

However, I recollected the Constitution of Simon Langham⁹, which says, “*Quodque si mulier viro superstite obierit ad solutionem mortuarii minimè coerceatur*,” and, as Heene and Tarring are Peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury, I acted upon it, and told my old chronicler that no mortuary would be due till the death of the husband. May the good man live long!

ALETHES.

I am glad the old clerk chanced to come in. I know more about mortuaries than I ever knew before. And now, Eubulus, let us turn to Selden. What are your opinions as regards that great man?

EUBULUS.

Formerly his name was never mentioned without the affix of “*the learned*,” and amongst those competent to give an opinion he must ever be called *the learned Selden*! Ben Jonson, in his Epistle to Master John Selden, spoke of him as he deserved:—

“Monarch of letters! ’mongst the titles shewn
Of others’ honours, thus enjoy thy own¹.”

ALETHES.

I recollect that epistle well, and will read it over again this night. I see “rare Ben” on the shelves of those old Dramatists you value so much as the best teachers of the English language. But tell me, were he and Selden so intimate?

EUBULUS.

They were, as we may judge from a passage in his “Titles of Honour,” to the first edition of which work (1614) the epistle

⁹ Lyndwood, ut supra, lib. i. tit. 3. p. 21. The date is A.D. 1367. 42 Edw. 3.

¹ Ben Jonson’s Underwood. Works, vol. viii. p. 364. Ed. Gifford.

above referred to is prefixed, and with these words, "Ben Jonson to his honoured friend, Master John Selden." Gifford did well to adopt the lines of Cleveland as the motto in his title-page :—

"The Muses' fairest light in no dark time,
The wonder of a learned age ; the line
Which none can pass ; the most proportion'd wit,
To Nature, the best judge of what was fit ;
The deepest, plainest, highest, clearest pen,
The voice most echoed by consenting men ;
The soul which answered best to all well said
By others, and which most requital made."

ALETHES.

What is the passage you refer to in the "Titles of Honour?"

EUBULUS.

Ben Jonson had requested his friend to investigate the origin and history of the title, Poet Laureat, and he introduced it into this extraordinary work. Selden concludes the subject in these affectionate words. "And thus have I, by no unreasonable digression, performed a promise to you, my beloved *Ben Jonson* (sic). Your curious learning and judgment may correct where I have erred, and add where my notes and memory have left me short. You are

'Omnia carmina doctus
Et calles mython plasmata et historiam?'

ALETHES.

It is pleasing to meet with these literary notices. Oftentimes they show the writers in their truest light. In words like those above quoted he seems softened, and the uneven ruggedness of style is chastened.

EUBULUS.

I suspect it was Selden's love for Ben Jonson which caused Gifford to express himself so favourably. Gifford, you know, was

² Titles of Honour. The Second Part, vol. iii. p. 466. What appertains to the Title, Poet Laureat, will be found in c. i. § xlii. xliii. It was amongst the privileges of the Count Palatine to confer this Title.

in the habit of writing pettishly. But he was an excellent critic nevertheless, and I respect his memory for that noble and open declaration against impiety and blasphemy, in his Memoirs of Ben Jonson,—if for nothing else ³.

ALETHES.

But as I wish to know more of Selden on the present occasion, let me hear what Gifford says.

EUBULUS.

The passage I refer to is in the foot-note to the epistle you purpose reading. It is as follows; and it embodies my own sentiments, which you seem anxious to be possessed of. "Selden's life was useful, and his death instructive. He was drawn in by the crooked politics of the times in which he lived, but he escaped from them to his studies at every convenient opportunity; and though he might be sometimes dissatisfied, he was never factious."

ALETHES.

'Tis an honourable testimony. But I think I have gathered from your remarks at different times, that it was Selden's learning rather than his other parts that most attracted your attention.

EUBULUS.

I was afraid you were about to say *admiration*! My attention has indeed been called to his learning, and I am contented to sit at his feet as a scholar. But mere learning, Alethes, has never attracted my admiration—in the better sense of the word. Unchastened, it is a mere worldly possession, and will perish with the using. All is not gold that glitters! It is an almost forgotten poet that thus attunes his lay!

³ "I know the importance of fidelity; but no considerations on earth can tempt me to the wanton or heedless propagation of impiety. I have always regarded with feelings of peculiar horror that fool-hardy accuracy which with blind and bold irreverence ferrets out every blasphemous word, which the Author's better feelings had thrown aside, and felicitates the reader on the pernicious discovery. More than one Editor of our old poets might be named—but *ignoti altâ jaceant nocte*." Memoirs of Ben Jonson, vol. i. p. clxxxviii.

It was proved that the players themselves introduced oaths without the knowledge, and, of course, without the authority of Ben Jonson.

“ And the poor holy ignorant
 Will sooner get a grant
 Of his desire, than thou or I
 With all our orat’ry.
 When our good works and words agree
 They both accepted be ⁴.”

“ Every man,” quoth Eustace Budgell, (I quote from Southey’s “Specimens of the Later English Poets,”) “ Every man may be a scholar who has strong eyes, a plodding head, a phlegmatic temper, and leisure to study ; but if, with all these happy talents, he has a wrong judgment and an ill taste, he is but hourly adding to a collection of absurdities, and grows every day either a more insufferable pedant, or distinguished coxcomb ! ”

ALETHES.

Quaint words, Eubulus ! But Selden was a scholar in every sense of the word.

EUBULUS.

I think so ; and an honest man too in the main, which is more ! Notwithstanding all that has been written to the contrary, I am convinced of this,—the only room for doubt is with respect to what he himself calls “his unfortunate History of Tythes.” This, as I think you are aware, was written at an early age, in 1617, when he was only thirty-three. There is, I believe, much of display in that work, and a great parade of learning, the more unnecessary as his learning was unquestionable. It is much to be regretted that he was persuaded to write this treatise thus early in life. Had he written it some years later he would not have had to retract, before “some Lords of the High Commission,” or to frame an acknowledgment of his error “to the Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council.”

ALETHES.

I was looking but yesterday into that old edition of George ⁵

⁴ Sir William Killegrew, On Prayer.

⁵ The Edition here referred to is the small 12mo. 1630. *Editio secunda*, &c., with Portrait. George Ruggles was born at Lavenham, in Suffolk, 1575. Died 1622. He was successively of St. John’s, Trinity, and Clare Hall, Cambridge, and in the latter College he obtained a Fellowship. It was at the representation of this Play that George Villiers,—afterwards the notorious Duke of Buckingham,—attracted the notice of James.

Ruggles' "Ignoramus," which is above that splendid copy of Du Cange, in the Study. It occurs to me, that as far as dates go, there might be some truth in the old story,—“that in revenge Master John Selden soon after set forth his Books of Tythes.”

EUBULUS.

As far as dates go, it certainly is possible. “The king comes to Cambridge,” says Fuller, “in a sharp winter, when all the world was nothing but aire and snow.” And the winter, as an old parishioner of ninety-five told me to-day, must have had a long tail to it; for the date in that valuable (however quaint) Church historian, is March 7th, 1614, three years previous to the publication of Selden's work. But this is no authority for the story you allude to:—

“Hic nigræ succus loliginis; hæc est
Ærugo mera; quod vitium procul afore chartis,
Atque animo prius, si quid promittere de me
Possum aliud verè, promitto.”

ALETHES.

I am glad to hear you speak thus. But did Fuller give any credit to it?

EUBULUS.

None whatever. His words are: “I cannot suspect so high a soul, guilty of so low reflections, that his book related at all to this occasion, but only that the latitude of his mind, tracing all *paths* of learning, did casually light on the *road* of this subject⁶.”

ALETHES.

There is something amiable, to say the least, Eubulus, in your defending a sometime parishioner. But I cannot help thinking that Selden was in a strait as regards his “History of Tithes.” In speaking of the clergy, too, he covertly taxes them with malice, lazy ignorance, and peevish jealousy,—by no means comfortable

⁶ See Church History. Cent. xvii. b. x. p. 70. He remarks, touching “the pleasant Play of Ignoramus,” that whilst many laughed aloud at the *mirth* thereof, some of the graver sort were sad to see the *Common Lawyers* made ridiculous therein. If *gowns* begin once to abase *gowns*, *cloaks* will carry away all. Besides, of all *wood*, the *Pleader's bar* is the worst to make a stage of. For, once in an *age*, all professions must be beholden to their patronage.”

insinuations! But this was his humour. He seems to fancy himself ever walking in the highest paths of literature, and so he despises others. For example, how does he commence the Preface to his "Titles of Honour?" "Bless me, *Mercury*, from the old enemy, the *daring ignorant*! I know his hate to thee!" I need not refer to other instances, with which you must be so familiar. The offensive motto also is omitted in the large edition, and one may hope on wiser second thoughts. In the small quarto it runs thus:—

"Non partis studiis agimus. Sed sumpsimus arma
Consiliis inimica tuis, *Ignavia fallax*!"

EUBULUS.

There was wisdom in omitting it. It proves, in some sort, that Selden did not hold altogether to his old *mumpsimus*, as did the old priest, that Bentley tells of, in his Breviary. But I think, Alethes, you have hit the right nail on the head. The learned Selden was a "monarch of letters;" and he was prouder than he ought to have been of his pre-eminence.

ALETHES.

Oh! ever wise proverb!—"Before honour is humility"."

EUBULUS.

Profitable to correct us all! But it must have flattered the vanity of Selden to find all his opponents using weapons from his own armoury, Alethes! Some were well able to defend themselves, and the cause they took in hand; but others there were quite incompetent to the task.

ALETHES.

His vanity might have been flattered; but it must have been humiliating to sing his *Palinodia* before the High Commission. It calls to my mind the often quoted lines of Waller, to a lady singing one of his songs:—

"That Eagle's fate and mine are one,
Who on the shaft that made him die;
Espied a feather of his own,
Wherewith he wont to soar so high!"

EUBULUS.

It was here that Selden got entangled; and for this it was that I qualified my remark, saying, that he was an *honest man in the main*. After all the pains I have taken, I cannot quite clear this matter. He was evidently discontented with himself; and he had done wiser, had he submitted to the worst, instead of temporising. What he says to the reader of Dr. Tillesley's "Animadversions on the History of Tithes," is not easily reconciled with the following admission. I extract it from Wilkins, in "Vita Auctoris," p. vi. ⁸:—

"My good Lords,

"I most humbly acknowledge my error which I have committed in publishing the *History of Tithes*; and especially, that I have at all, by showing any interpretation of Holy Scripture, by meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what else soever occurs in it, offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance *jure divino* of the ministers of the Gospel; beseeching your lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my grief; for that through it I have so incensed both his majesty's and your lordship's displeasure, conceived against me in behalf of the Church of England.

"JOHN SELDEN."

This was on January 28, 1618. Wilkins is certainly right in saying, *dubio valde modo agit in responso ad Tilsleium*. Besides, I cannot but consider the letter to the Marquis of Buckingham a remarkable instance of *special pleading*. This was written two years after, and is dated May 5, 1620, *from the Temple*. I have seen some such letters written in the present day; and I confess I never wish to see more. The writers may be honest; but appearances are against them. None easier than Buckingham must have seen through such sentences as these: "The question, my lord, is merely of divinity,—a study wherein I have been conversant, only to make me a good Chris-

⁸ See Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, b. xi. § 30. p. 492, and Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 471. Pt. ii. c. ii. Neal's remark is, "Nor did Mr. Selden quickly forget their stopping his mouth after this manner." And to the above Collier's Eccles. Hist. Pt. ii. b. viii. vol. ii. 717.

tian, and not to enable me to resolve school scruples, which are determined both ways (as this is) amongst the greatest scholars. And I beseech your lordship not to think it towards wilfulness in me to abstain from expressing my opinion in that, which is neither any question of the profession or studies which I have been bred in ; neither have I ever studied it for a resolution ; neither were I, perhaps, able to defend either side of it against such as, out of their professed studies, might dispute against me⁹."

ALETHES.

In a softened tone this, Eubulus.

EUBULUS.

I had rather it had been otherwise ; it had been more manly, more befitting such a name as Selden's. Neither do I like a subsequent paragraph : " On the other side, my lord, if I should, perhaps, after studying the question, resolve to myself that they were not due *jure divino*, but only by the positive law of the Church or State ; I know my expression of so much, would but add to the displeasure conceived against me. Therefore, good my lord, think it not wilfulness, when I desire so to abstain also from studying the question for expression of my opinion, in a matter, in the resolving whereof, on the one side, I should tax both the state where I live, and also all Christendom, for committing every where, by execution of their established laws, against God's laws ; and in resolving, as it might happen, on the other side, I could gain nothing but increase of displeasure against myself. Therefore I would not willingly strive to work myself vainly into an expression of either side the question ; but leave it, as I have ever done, wholly to greater judgments."

ALETHES.

One can only wonder that so sagacious a person as Selden should have thought words like these likely to weigh with Buckingham. They read like a mere diplomatic note ! But does not Selden speak more openly in one of the three tracts, written by order of King James ?

⁹ See p. 1393, and *infra*, p. 1395.

EUBULUS.

Certainly, in a sense, he does. But there, as elsewhere, he evidently writes under constraint. The tract you allude to is, "Of my Purpose and End in writing the History of Tithes." He tells us there, as he had done several times before, that, "The whole body and matter of it is conversant with the title, that is, history only, either of laws made, or of opinions held touching tythes, or of practice of payment of them¹." Again, "the cause which first made me think of it, was, that I saw the bare *historical part of learning*, and of *human laws* made, touching *tythes*, both in this kingdom and in other states, lay wholly or too much neglected amongst them, who nevertheless having, as *Divines* or *Canonists*, written of *tythes*, would (as I conceived by their works) have made use of that *historical part*, if they had been furnished with it." And shortly after, "Hence I took the first *thoughts of writing it*, and I doubted not at all, but that it would have been *acceptable to the clergy*, to whose *disputations and determinations*, I resolved wholly to leave the point of *Divine Right of Tythes*, and keep myself wholly to the historical part. And to this resolution I constantly restrained myself."

ALETHES.

This seems straightforward enough, and there is sound advice in it too.

EUBULUS.

The profession is well enough and specious, but it is not borne out. No careful reader can, I think, mistake the bias of Selden's mind. And this it is which induced Leslie to say, "But there is another who has gone about his business more like a workman, and attacked tithes with great subtlety and learning; it is the famous Mr. Selden, in what he calls the History of Tithes, and pretends that it is nothing else but a plain history, without any design against the Divine Right, or any other settlement of tithes; but then he carries on his mine under ground, and gives such accounts of them as would effectually overthrow them²."

¹ See pp. 1451. 1453, 1454.

² Preface to the Essay on the Divine Right of Tithes. Works, vol. vii. p. 273. Ed. Clar.

ALETHES.

There is one question I should like to ask yet. Is there not some story about a letter addressed to Archbishop Laud by Selden?

EUBULUS.

I am glad you recalled the incident to mind. It is in my old favourite Fuller's "Worthies of England." I must read to you the whole passage, as I have not the means of verifying the extract he gives in italics.

"Nor will it be impertinent here to insert a passage of consequence, which I find in a modern author of good intelligence.

"*Master Selden was no friend to bishops, as constituted and established in the Church of England. For being called before the High Commission, and forced to make a publique acknowledgment of his error and offence given unto the Church, in publishing a book intituled, "The History of Tithes," it sunk so deep into his stomach, that he did never after affected (sic) the men, or cordially approved the calling, though many ways were tried to gain him to the Church's interest.*"

"To this his *publique acknowledgment* I can say nothing,—this I know, that a friend of mine^e employed on a fair and honest account, to peruse the library of Archbishop Laud, found therein a large letter written to him, and subscribed with Master *Selden's* own hand, wherein he used many expressions of his contrition, much condemning himself for setting forth a book of that nature; which letter my aforesaid friend gave back again to Master *Selden*, to whom, (I assure you,) it was no unacceptable present^s."

ALETHES.

Coupling this with what you have before mentioned, and with what I have read and noted for myself, I feel more than ever convinced that Selden deserted high ground for lower, and the hesitating^g shifts he made use of only confirm me in my opinion, that he was ill at ease upon the subject. Is it Massinger that says?

³ See Worthies. Sussex, p. 111. The Book quoted is "*Extraneus rapulans* made by an *alter idem* to Doctor Heylin," p. 167. "The friend mentioned is Mr. Spencer, Keeper of the Library at *Jesus Colledge*."

“ They that sow
In narrow bounds, cannot expect in reason
A crop beyond their ventures⁴.”

EUBULUS.

My position is still secure, Selden was honest in the main. I by no means mean to say that he was not prejudiced. I had rather he had not published “Euthymius.” I had rather he had not been a member of the Assembly of Divines. But I speak as a Churchman, and this is not to our present purpose.

ALETHES.

You are ill inclined to give up your parishioner. You hold to him as did the late lamented Professor Burton to the suspected verse in St. John. But, after all, Eubulus, was the “History of Tithes” Selden’s own handy work, or did he merely *complete* the intended attack?

EUBULUS.

I am at a loss to understand you.

ALETHES.

And I wish to be certified. What made me ask the question was a passage I lighted on in your valued friend Woodward’s⁵ copy of “Heylin’s History of the Presbyterians.” I copied it out to read to you.

“During which heats and agitations between the parties, a plot was set on foot to subvert the Church, in the undoing of the clergy; and there could be no readier way to undo the clergy, than to reduce them into such a beggarly competency (for by that name they love to call it), as they had brought them to in all the rest of the *Calvinian* or *Genevian* Churches. *This the design of many hands, by whom all passages had been scored in Cotton’s Library, which either did relate to the point of tithes, or the manner of payment. But the collections being brought together, and the work completed, there appeared no other name before it than that of Selden, then of great credit in the world for his known abilities in the retired walks of learning*⁶.”

⁴ The Emperor of the East, Act iii. Sc. ii.

⁵ My lamented friend, the Rev. W. P. Woodward, Rector of West Grinstead, Sussex.

⁶ History of the Presbyterians, p. 491.

Such is the passage and the accusation, Eubulus, and I wish you would remove the imputation.

EUBULUS.

It is one not unknown to me, but I believe it to be groundless. One may couple it with the traditional story of Ruggles and "Ignoramus." None more readily acknowledged his obligations to Sir Robert Cotton, than Selden did. For instance, in the two first sentences of the dedication, "Justice, no less than observance, urges me to inscribe this 'History of Tithes' to your name. So great a part of it, was lent me by your most ready courtesy, and able direction, that I restore it rather than give it you." But that Selden should lend himself as a tool to do puritanical and presbyterian work with, is what I could never be brought over to think. It was unworthy the friend of Archbishop Usher and Lord Clarendon. Had there been any substantial ground for this accusation, I am convinced the latter would never have borne that testimony to him which he has done. He looked upon him, as he says, "with so much affection and reverence, that he always thought himself best when he was with him."

ALETHES.

There is great weight in what you say. When I read that passage in Heylin, I did not forget the account Clarendon gives of his acquaintance in his autobiography. I wish you would read me that of Selden. My recollection of it is like the recollection of sweet music heard in childhood.

EUBULUS.

I will read it most willingly. You know what favourites Clarendon's "Autobiography" and his "History of the Rebellion" are with me.

"Mr. Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings), that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in com-

municating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh, and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men; but to a little under-valuing the beauty of a style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity: but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young; and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London, and in the Parliament, after they were in rebellion, and in the worst times, which his age obliged him to do: and how wicked soever the actions were which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them; but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale."

ALETHES.

Noble testimonial!

EUBULUS.

And never retracted, though Selden's name is perhaps, as Warburton thinks, to be numbered with those "knowing and discerning men"⁷ in the law, when Clarendon speaks of the animosities between some great lawyers and some Churchmen, which produced great mischiefs, in his "History of the Rebellion." I only recollect one more allusion to him in that immortal work. On the question of offering the great seal to Selden, Clarendon's words are: "They did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection to the king, but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place, if it was offered to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years

⁷ The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, &c. Written by Himself. Vol. i. p. 35. Part i. Ed. Clar. 1827. 8vo.

enjoyed his ease, which he loved ; was rich ; and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment ; which he had never affected ^a.”

ALETHES.

“ Was rich,” is short and pithy. Fuller, I recollect, states that he died “ exceeding wealthy. Insomuch that *naked charity* both *wished* and *hoped* for a *good new coat* at his hands, but mist of its expectation⁹.” The world, I see, must agree to differ in the estimation of his character. But tell me, Eubulus, of his birth and lineage.

EUBULUS.

’Tis a simple *tale*, soon *told*. He was born at Salvington, a hamlet of the parish of West-Tarring, and some half-mile or more, to the north of the Church. The entry in the Register stands thus : “ 1584. *John, the sonne of John Selden, y^e minstrell, was baptised the xxth day of December.*” His father and mother were both buried in the churchyard of the parish. The entries are as follows : “ 1610, *Margaret Selden was buried y^e xi. of October ;*”— “ 1616. 12^{mo} *ffèbruarii Johannes Selden, paterfamilias sepultus est.*” As regards the latter entry, I see it sometimes mentioned as the 1st instead of the 12th, but I think incorrectly. It has been questioned what is the meaning of the word “ *minstrell*” in the former extract, and Cartwright, in his “ History of the Rape of Bramber ¹⁰,” quotes Du Cange, as saying, “ The word minstrell is not to be understood in its popular sense, but as a performer on any instrument of wind or string.” I have examined Du Cange, and hardly know to what he more immediately alludes¹. The

⁸ See History of the Rebellion, vol. i. pp. 29—34, and p. 498. Ed. Clar. 1826. 8vo.

⁹ Worthies, ut *suprà*.

¹⁰ See p. 5, note.

¹ Probably to these words in v. MINSTRELLI. “ Porro *ministrellorum* voce intelligebantur cum scurræ et mimi omnes, tum qui buccinas inflare, aut musica instrumenta pulsare solebant.” From an old document, anno 1348, he gives the following, “ Sub titulo de *Menestreux*, recensentur ceux qui jouënt des naquaires, du demyeanon, du cornet, guiterne Latine, de la fluste Bchaigne, de la trompette, de la guiterne Moresche, et de la vielle. [Le Roman de la Rose MS.

*Là reisses fluteurs,
Menestrels, et jogleours.]”*

Information on this head may be found in Blakeway’s and Owen’s Hist. of Shrewsbury. I have since found that there are more entries in the Sussex Registers under the title of “ MINSTREL.” For example in the Lurgurshall Register : “ 1590. Baptized Robert, son of John Landor, the MINSTRELL.”

simple way of understanding the word is, I suspect, the true one. Selden's father was a yeoman. The acre-age of the estate, according to the survey taken 6 James I., was 81A. 1R. The annual value, 23*l.* 8*s.* "*Fidibus antiqui caneant*," says Cicero, and this was the elder Selden's case. He amused his neighbours with his gentle craft, and pleased himself. And what is here said is corroborated by the extracts given by Dr. Bliss, in his Edition of the "*Athenæ Oxonienses*," from Aubrey's Papers in the Ashmole Museum. "His father was a yeomanly man, of about forty pounds per annum, and played well on the violin, in which he tooke delight, and at Christmas time, to please himself and his neighbours, he would play to them as they danced. My old Lady Cotton, (wife to Sir Rob. Cotton, grandmother to this Sir — Cotton,) was one time at Sir Thomas Alford's, in Sussex, at dinner, in Christmas time; and Mr. J. Selden, (then a young student,) sate at the lower end of the table, who was lookt upon then to be of parts extraordinary, and somebody asking who he was, 'twas replied, 'His son that is playing on the violin in the hall.' I have heard Mich. Malet (Judge Malet's son) say, that he had heard that Mr. J. Selden's father taught on the lute."

ALETHES.

Just like the gossip of Aubrey. He is quite a master in his way, like Boswell.

"Comis garrire libellos
Unus vivorum ²."

But tell me, Eubulus, if any anecdotes are current in his native parish?

EUBULUS.

Strange as it may seem, he whom Grotius called "the glory of the English nation," is all but forgotten here! We are a people of poor estate, and "book-learning" is at a discount amongst us. There are no resident gentry; which is at all times a serious disadvantage to a parish. "*Durum ab stirpe genus*,"—we till the ground. Our youth—"patiens operum parvoque assueta"—have little time for reading ought save their Bibles and Prayer

² Hor. Sat.

Books, which I would were read to better account! with the same passage of the poet in view,

“Omne ævum ferro teritur, versâque juvencûm
Terga fatigamus hastâ³.”

ALETHES.

And has the memory of this great man thus died away in his native Salvington? How instructive the lesson!

EUBULUS.

The cottage is visited by strangers, but the tenants of it are better initiated into the merits of hard pudding,—(indispensable to every true-born South Saxon—“the food,” says a worthy Baronet, “of the Roman soldiery,”)—than into the merits of Selden. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

ALETHES.

I know the cottage well. It is a humble building, and it would appear that it was never much larger. I would it were kept in better order, and that the old woodwork were not plaistered over! The inscription on the inside of the lintel is still fresh in my memory; and I think you told me Selden wrote it when ten years of age. Runs it not thus?

“Gratus, honeste, mihi, non claudar inito sedeque;
Fur abeas, non sum facta soluta tibi.”

EUBULUS.

I will not say whether it be “*sedebis*” or “*sedeque*,” nor do I think an antiquary could decide. My impression, however, is, that you are right. Cartwright has given the exact copy of the distich. You will be glad to hear that the property has passed into better hands; and, I have no doubt, but that by and by the little that can be done to the crazy, but time-honoured, old teneament, will be done⁴. The old date still remains, on a stone over the door, 1601. The name of the house was *Lacies*, which Selden himself mentions in the lengthy epitaph he wrote previous to his death: “in ædibus *Lacies*, ibi dictis.”

³ Virg. *Æn.* ix. 610.

⁴ Since this was written, the cottage has been restored by my friend and neighbour, J. B. Daubuz, Esq., of Offington, to whom it belongs.

ALETHES.

Sir Peter Lely's portrait of Selden, gives him a very intellectual, though perhaps somewhat melancholy expression of countenance. His hair is long and flowing; and certainly there is nothing of rusticity about him. One would hardly imagine he had come forth from those "smoky rafters," as Milton calls the like.

EUBULUS.

If we may credit the report of Aubrey, he was not so graceful in his youth: "He was of Hart-hall, in Oxon," (says that Chronicler;) "and Sir Giles Mompesson told me, that he was then of that house, and that he was a *long scabby-pol'd boy*, but a good student."

ALETHES.

Does not Aubrey, by the way, mention his locality when at the Temple?

EUBULUS.

In the words which immediately follow. The book is in my hand, and I will read them to you: "Thence he came to the Inner Temple. His chamber was in the Paper Buildings which looke towards the garden,—staire-case, uppermost story, where he had a little gallery to walke in."

ALETHES.

Are any descendants of this "great dictator of learning of the English nation," still in being? I use the title which Wood says foreigners gave to him.

EUBULUS.

I have not been enabled to add any thing to what Cartwright says: "The name of Selden, though formerly frequent in this and the neighbouring parishes, is presumed to be extinct. His representatives, if any, are the descendants of his only sister, Mary, who married John Barnard of Goring, by whom she had two sons, John and Thomas, and four daughters, Mary, wife of Robert Douglas, of Goring; Sarah, wife of J. Chapman, of Ifield; Joan, wife of Edward Mansfield, of Ham, near Lewes; and Susan, married to John Bode, of Wiston⁵." I may add that

⁵ History of the Rape of Bramber, ut suprà, p. 6.

in the parish of Patching, there is a farm and a coppice called Selden's.

ALETHES.

I fancied I had heard that some of his mother's name still lived in the parish of Preston.

EUBULUS.

There are "Bakers" still in the parish of Preston; and Selden, in the epitaph above alluded to, speaks of his mother as "*Margarita Bakera Thomæ cognominis à Rustington ex equestri in Cantio Bakerorum familiâ oriundi, filiâ unicâ et hærede.*" The parish of Preston adjoins Rustington, and so the family may be the same. They are all now in very humble circumstances. Cartwright is mistaken in writing "West Preston in Rustington."

ALETHES.

Did Selden forget his family?

EUBULUS.

You may see his Will at the end of the *Life* by Wilkins, from which it appears that he leaves to each of his nephews and nieces the sum of one hundred pounds. They were all in lowly condition; and it appears he did not think that a larger sum would conduce to their happiness. It is not for me to question, at this distance of time, the justness of this conclusion. Individually I should have thought otherwise, and I look upon the willing of property as a very sacred matter. But Selden might have reasoned with himself, that he had left more than had ever come to him, and, as a considerable portion of his property was supposed to have come from the Countess of Kent, to whom Aubrey says he was married, after the Earl's death, he might have thought himself justified in bequeathing that as he did. Probably, from what Aubrey says, this question was early mooted: "He would tell his intimate friends, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, &c., that he had nobody to make his heire, except it were a milke-mayd, and that such people did not know what to doe with a great estate." Mem. Bishop Grostest, of Lincoln, told his brother, who asked him to make him a great man; "Brother," said he, "if your plough is broken, I'll pay the mending of it; or if an ox is dead, I'll pay for another, but a ploughman I found you, and a ploughman I'll leave you." I will add what Aubrey says of his

personal appearance before I close the book upon his amusing tittle-tattle: "He was very tall, I guesse about six foot high, sharp oval face, head not very big, inclining to one side, full popping eie."

ALETHES.

"Quo fit ut omnis

Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ

Vita senis."

There is much, after all, Eubulus, to be said for Selden. I believe he loved his king, though, as Clarendon says, he was always enough indulgent to his own safety. It is a gratifying fact to know that he would not reply to the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, though requested personally by Cromwell to do so. This unenviable task he left to Milton! How earnestly does one wish that he had not signed the Solemn League and Covenant—that he had defended Archbishop Laud as he voted in favour of Strafford—that all his opinions had been as decidedly expressed as those for the protection of the Universities, and for the Bishops' right to their seats in Parliament!

EUBULUS.

Selden's defect, I think, was moral courage. Had he been more resolute and determined, he might probably have

"Wielded at will that fierce democracy⁶."

Even although no "mighty orator," he had considerable influence as it was. "His life," says Bishop Jebb, "properly told, would be a complete history of the learning of his time⁷,"—it may be added, of the varied politics also—of men, and manners. But that life has yet to be written. The one by Wilkins is well enough, as far as it goes; but it is a sort of skeleton. The latest attempt I am aware of is by George W. Johnson, and is entitled, "Memoirs of John Selden, and Notices of the Political Contest during his time." I cannot say that I am favourably impressed with it. His sentiments appear to me to be Erastianism personified⁸.

⁶ Par. Reg. b. iv. 269.

⁷ See Burnet's *Lives, Characters, &c.* Edited by Jebb. 2nd Edit. p. 26, note.

⁸ Since this was written, a Biographical Preface, by S. W. Singer, Esq., has been prefixed to his "Table Talk." Pickering: 1847.

ALETHES.

That Selden's views were Erastian, I believe, there is no doubt. I hope, Eubulus, there is no ground for impugning his faith; yet such things have been whispered.

EUBULUS.

Unbelievers and free-thinkers are always anxious to couple great names with their puny selves. It is the only chance they have of emerging for a short while from merited insignificance. The charge as regards Selden is utterly false, and is best rebutted in Baxter's "Appendix to the Life of Hale." "I know," (writes he to Mr. Stephens,) "you are acquainted how greatly he" (Hale, that is,) "valued Mr. Selden, being one of his executors; his books and picture being still near him. I think it meet, therefore, to remember, that, because many Hobbists do report that Mr. Selden was at heart an infidel⁹, and inclined to the opinions of Hobbes, I desired him to tell me the truth herein; and he oft professed to me, that Mr. Selden was a resolved serious Christian; and that he was a great adversary to Hobbes' errors; and that he had seen him openly oppose him so earnestly, as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the room."

ALETHES.

Irrefragable testimony!

EUBULUS.

Let me add to the above what is said in Wilkins's "*Vita Auctoris*," p. xlv.: "*Cum invalescente imbecillitate et deficientibus viribus stadium vitæ jam confectum esse sentiret, corpusque nimis scribendi, legendi, et meditandi contentione fatigatum, impar animi viribus, hospitem admoneret migrationis, reverendissimum Hiberniæ primatem Usserium doctoremque Langbaine accersivit, ut de vanitate scientiarum, atque de spe et requie animæ suæ in promissis Sanctæ Scripturæ fundata, atque cordi suo penitus impressa dissereret. Consolabatur autem se;—That having his study full of books and papers of most subjects in the world, yet at that time he could not recollect any*

⁹ "There has ever been a strange tendency to such rumours:—Raleigh, Bacon, and Selden, are eminent examples." Bp. Jebb's note.

passage out of infinite books and manuscripts he was master of, wherein he could rest his soul, save out of the Holy Scriptures; wherein the most remarkable passage that lay most upon his spirit was Titus ii. 11—14." This passage I have frequently laid before my parishioners; and you will find it written out and translated in the "Cottage." He died Nov. 30th, 1654, aged seventy, and is buried in the Temple Church. Archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon.

ALETHES.

I am much indebted to you, Eubulus, for the information you have given me on the subject of tithes, as well as for your defence of Selden. He had infirmities, that's clear; neither was he impressed with any severe notions of ecclesiastical discipline, being a convert rather to Erastian views. At times he certainly wanted moral courage; but, whether it was an inherent defect or not, I would not hastily decide. That love of ease and retirement, which Clarendon speaks of, occasionally takes this form. Be it as it may, he was a great man, and a learned. We piddling literates cannot find time to read what he found time and opportunity to write, when all the foundations of the nation were out of course, and anarchy was triumphant. Selden, no doubt, like Cicero, found comfort from his books in evil times,—*à republicâ forensibusque negotiis, armis impiis vique prohibiti, otium persequimur*. How striking are those words at the commencement of the Third Book of the Offices! *Extincto enim senatu, deletisque judiciis, quid est quod dignum nobis aut in curiâ, aut in foro agere possimus? Ita qui in maximâ celebritate, atque in oculis civium quondam viximus; nunc fugientes conspectum sceleratorum, quibus omnia redundant, abdimus nos, quantum licet, et sæpe soli sumus*. To the shattered fortunes of his country we owe much of those writings, which, rather than his acts, ennoble the name of Cicero. As he says, "*Itaque plura brevi tempore eversâ, quàm multis annis stante republicâ, scripsimus*"¹.

EUBULUS.

How different the soft and easy flow of Cicero's style from the inharmonious periods of Selden! The spirit of "the minstrel"

¹ See Cic. de Officiis, lib. iii. c. i.

lighted not on him, though Sir John Suckling brought him into the "Session of the Poets." However, his prose-writings are thoroughly imbued with sound and useful learning; and he might have said of them, what the Laureate, John Skelton, said of his rhyme in "Colyn Clout :"—

"For though my rime be ragged,
Tattered and jagged,
Rudely rayne beaten,
Rusty and moothe eaten,
If ye talke well therewyth,
It hath in it some pith."

ALETHES.

I know not what the world at large would say to our notions respecting tithes, Eubulus. Possibly it may put down the one and the other of us under one category. I can *cap* you (as we used to say at school) from that old Rimer :—

"Or if he speake plaine,
Than he lacketh brayne,
He is but a foole!
Let him go to scoole.
A three-footed stoole
That he may downe syt,
For he lacketh wit;
And if that he hit
The nayle on the head,
It standeth in no stede!"

EUBULUS.

Like enough, Alethes! But when I express my sentiments on this head, as I have ever done when occasion called, then I can say, *Liberavi animam meam*. God grant that I may be free from what the Scripture calls *blood-guiltiness* in all other my ministerial functions! I dearly like the clause in that beautiful prayer,—“Grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy!” So have I ever done; and so by the same gracious help will I endeavour still to leap over the wall of human infirmity!

ALETHES.

One thing, at least, I may say, Eubulus. Of all people to speak on the subject of tithes it would seem to me that you are the least prejudiced. I have heard you say you have never had a dispute since you were connected with your parish².

EUBULUS.

I never have, in the fuller acceptation of the word. But, whether or not I may have thought it necessary in all cases to require payment is quite another thing. I maintain my right with one hand, when I dispense a gift with the other. But the payment of small tithes is attended with great difficulty; and were it not for the fulfilling of a *duty*, I never would enforce a claim.

ALETHES.

And is there nothing done to mend matters by the Tithe Commutation Act?

EUBULUS.

Nothing whatever. The poor man's garden is let at the same rent, and he pays the tithe, though the landlord is responsible. According to the old Indian idea, the tortoise is at the bottom after all! I know of nothing good in that Act; but, as I said before, I know of much that is wrong in it. The sort of payment which the Almighty once judged in His wisdom right, I, without an express declaration to the contrary, can never deem wrong. Methinks the advice of the Son of Sirach was right,—*DEDICATE THY TITHES WITH GLADNESS*³. It grieves me to the heart to think that the principle of it is taken for granted by the many, as though it were conceded by the clergy at large. Whatever the number of the Guelphs, I am, on this head, a Ghibelline still.

ALETHES.

But what was to be done? Supposing resistance had been

² Since this was written, I have been provoked to a dispute by a STRANGER, but declined it. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners put in their distress, and recovered payment, of course.

³ Ecclus. xxxv. 9.

made, might not matters have been worse than they are,—might not the clergy by this time have been stipendiaries? Such, some twelve years ago, was the state of drunken anarchy—(*but not with wine*)—which this nation was in, that nothing would have surprised me. Might we not have lost all? The world was open-mouthed as Charybdis.

EUBULUS.

I will make Mephibosheth's answer,—“*Yea, let him take all; forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house*”⁴. Robbery and spoliation, spoliation and robbery, is the only change I can ring upon the Act. After all, had all gone, we might have had the satisfaction to know that we had tried to save what we could.

ALETHES.

And this, I conceive, is what many good men did. They acted somewhat after Cranmer's example; and a good example it was! Had further opposition been made, we might have had a collision, disastrous and untimely, as that between Thomas à Becket and Henry II.

EUBULUS.

I would not stand up for Thomas à Becket's character as a whole; but I think on some points he has been much maligned. He was a bold man, at least, and did not shrink from what he considered a duty. But this would lead me into a long story. Besides, the wind is hushed, and we shall get a good walk. Air and exercise save the doctor. We can take Selden's “Cottage” in our way.

ALETHES.

Agreed. But recollect that we recur to Thomas à Becket's history. Tradition calls the old Rectory-house here his palace; and I have no doubt you have collected all you can relating to him and his eventful life.

⁴ 2 Sam. xix. 30.

EUBULUS.

The shaking out of my note-book is at your service. But do not let me lead you astray either as regards Thomas à Becket, or the immunities of the clergy. My motto is from that remarkable work of Southey's,—the “*Vindiciæ Anglicanæ*,”—which he wrote, *con amore*, and would willingly have gone on with: “When any thing becomes manifestly and notoriously an evil and a nuisance, it ought to be abated, whatever prescription may be pleaded for it⁵.”

⁵ See p. 354.

Life of Thomas à Becket,

OR,

Thomas Becket.

Norfolk.

“Surely, sir,
There’s in him stuff that puts him to these ends ;
For, being not propp’d by ancestry, whose grace
Chalks successors their way, nor call’d upon
For high feats done to the crown ; neither allied
To eminent assistants, but, spider-like,
Out of his self-drawing web, he gives us note,
The force of his own merit makes his way ;
A gift that heaven gives for him, which buys
A place next to the king.

Abergavenny.

I cannot tell
What heaven hath given him : let some graver eye
Pierce into that ; but I can see his pride
Peep through each part of him.”

HENRY VIII. Act i. Sc. i.

O. Kath.

“ You are meek and humble-mouth’d ;
You sign your place and calling, in full seeming
With meekness and humility ; but your heart
Is cramm’d with arroganey, spleen, and pride.”

Ibid. Act ii. Sc. iv.

Griffith.

“ Noble madam,
Men’s evil manners live in brass ; their virtues
We write in water. May it please your highness
To hear me speak his good now ?

Kath.

Yes, good Griffith ;
I were malicious else.

Griffith.

This cardinal,
Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashion’d to much honour. From his cradle,
He was a scholar, and a ripe, and good one ;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading :
Lofty and sour to them that lov’d him not ;
But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.

His overthrow heap’d happiness upon him,
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little :
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died, fearing God ! ”

Ibid. Act iv. Sc. ii.

Life of Thomas à Becket,

OR,

Thomas Becket.

“ Creon. 'Tis just I die, indeed, for I confess
I am troublesome to life now, and the state
Can hope for nothing worthy from me now,
Either in force or counsel ; I've o' late
Employ'd myself quite from the world, and he
That once begins to serve his Maker faithfully,
Can never serve a worldly prince well after ;
'Tis clear another way.

Ant. Oh, give not confidence
To all he speaks, my lord, to his own injury.
His preparation only for the next world
Makes him talk wildly to his wrong of this ;
He is not lost in judgment.”

Massinger, The Old Law.

HENRY II. was the greatest sovereign of his day, and Thomas à Becket the greatest ecclesiastic. Rome had her popes and cardinals, Bologna and Paris their schools, but amongst all their men of renown, none was so great a man as the sometime bosom-friend and the wary chancellor of Henry.

Thomas à Becket—the name established by use, which is the criterion of language, though Thomas Becket were, perhaps, more critically correct—was born in London, December 21, 1117¹. His father was a citizen, named Gilbert. His mother was said

¹ Or, as others say, 1118.

to be a Saracen lady, "whose adventures," says Sharon Turner, "might be classed with the tales of romance, but that, after the Crusades commenced, human life became a romance; and society was full of wild enterprise and improbable incident;" as Othello tells,

"Of moving accidents by flood and field;
Of hair-breadth 'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach;
Of being taken by the insolent foe,
And sold to slavery."

Whether or not the story is to be relied on is more than can, at this time of day, be asserted; but there seems no reason to throw aside all traditional stories, and if this be not true, one might even wish it were so. The authority for it is the chronicler John of Brompton², who relates of Gilbert, that having made a pilgrimage to Palestine, he was taken by the Saracens, thrown into prison, "and sold to slavery" to an Emir. It appears that his manners and mien were such as to attract the notice of his Saracen lord and master, insomuch so that he was treated kindly, and—a most unusual thing, if report be true—was admitted to his table. This Emir had an only daughter. How, when, or where, Gilbert contrived to converse with her is not easily ascertained, especially when we consider the secluded estate of Oriental females³. Converse with her, however, he did, and as he told of Christian faith, and Christian climes, she learned to love. For his voluble discourse, and perhaps, like Desdemona, "for the dangers he had passed," she loved the Christian captive! Gilbert, it would seem, though she promised to aid in his escape, would not assent if she was to be the companion of his flight and, then, of the marriage-bed. After a year and a half's captivity he regained his liberty, but whether or not by the maiden's help is

² A Monkish Historian of Brompton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. His *Chronicle* extends from 588 to 1198. Mr. Berington affixes to his name the epithet of "fabling," and says that he is a transcriber of Hoveden in all that is important. He is said to have lived twenty years in the Benedictine Abbey of Whitby, during the abbacy of John of Skelton, which commenced in 1413.

³ Sir James Mackintosh's observation on Gilbert's permission to see the Mussulman Emir's daughter, is "a permission which loses much of its improbability, if we suppose that he was employed in procuring European ornaments for her, and was allowed to see a lady so exalted above him from a mixture of convenience and contempt."—Vol. i. p. 153.

unrecorded. It appears that Gilbert had mentioned London as his home, and henceforward no name had such charms for the Emir's lovely daughter's ear as London. She knew but two English words, and that was one of them. She was not long in coming to a determination. She would leave her father's house—the land of the sun and of the palm—and would seek the Christian stranger who had borne away her heart! She contrived to escape from the chamber of the women, and made her way to the coast, where she embarked on board a vessel sailing for England. Her constant repetition of the word "*London*" brought her to the metropolis; and then the repetition of the only other English word she knew—" *Gilbert* "—brought her under the notice of Richard, the faithful servant of Gilbert, and the sharer of his captivity. Gilbert was soon informed that the Saracen damsel had followed him, and such affection was not to be withstood. He consulted with the Bishop of London, mentioned to him her desire to become a Christian, and told the tale of their loves. The result was that she was christened by the name of Matilda and married to her Gilbert!

Let the story be taken for as much as it is worth and no more. Once escaped from her father the Emir her jewels would further her progress. No Eastern damsel of her rank was destitute of "Barbaric pearl and gold." The ancient ballad of the "Spanish Lady's Love" is an illustration in point. The first lines are the gallant Captain's, the two last the lady's.

" " I have neither gold nor silver
To maintain thee in this case,
And to travel is great charges
As you know in every place.'

" " My chains and jewels every one shall be thy own
And eke five hundred pounds in gold that lies unknown '⁴."

Whoever his mother may have been, Becket says in one of his letters that his ancestors were of the city of London—citizens of no mean degree, contented and quiet. Born on St. Thomas' Day, he was called after his name. Of his early education we are told only that his mother brought him up in the fear of God, and taught him, next to his Saviour, to reverence the Virgin

⁴ Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. ii. p. 237.

Mary. It is hardly to be doubted but that he, like so many others, imbibed his strong devotional feelings from his mother; for strong they were, though the world wrestled hard for the mastery, and many a time obtained it, as we shall see in the sequel of his life.

The next we hear of him is that his father sent him to school at Merton Abbey—abbeys and cathedrals in that day being the great schools in the land, and the families of abbots and bishops the great seminaries of religious and useful learning. Little remains now to attest what Merton on the Wandle once was. The angler, as he throws his fly, reckes little of those ancient walls, which once, like St. Alban's, were the resort of clerks and future dignitaries in Church and State. When Becket was sent there it was in its infancy. It was in 1115 that Gilbert Norman, Sheriff of Surrey, founded a convent there for the canons regular of the Order of St. Augustine. Its after connexion with Merton College, in Oxford, has no place here⁵. That took place in the reign of Henry III. It was the first prior of Merton that had the honour of educating this clever, but turbulent ecclesiastic. Having learned what was to be learnt here, his father, on his mother's death, sent him next to Paris, and on his return got him employed in the Portgreve's office in London. From this it is evident that he was not at that time decided as to the Church, for the Portgreve then was the chief magistrate of London, filling the place that the mayor does now⁶. Neither does it by any means appear that his present studies were theological. We read that he was given to hunting and falconry, and that on one occasion he was nearly drowned, having jumped into the Thames to save a favourite hawk.

Theobald at this time was Archbishop of Canterbury, a favourite with the king, to whom he was devotedly attached. "He was a man," however, says Lyttelton⁷, "whom experience and knowledge of business had made a minister of state, rather

⁵ There is evidently a mistake in the Article "Becket," in the new Biographical Dictionary, which states that "his master dying, he was committed by his father to the care of the Canons of Merton, in Oxford."

⁶ See Cowel's Law Dictionary in V. The Portgreve retained that name from the time of the Conqueror to that of Richard I., who ordained two bailiffs to take his place. The yearly magistrate, called the Mayor, was granted by King John.

⁷ History of Henry II., vol. ii. p. 19. 4to.

than genius ; having parts good enough to be esteemed, but not great enough to be feared by his master." This, possibly, may be true ; but withal he was a man of penetration, and the parts of the young Becket attracted his notice. At this time the future prelate is described to us as beautiful in person, graceful in manner, brave, lovely, and accomplished ⁸. How he got introduced to Theobald is not known for certain, but, once introduced, his fortunes were made, though envy molested him. Twice we read that Roger of Bishopsbridge, successively Archdeacon of Canterbury and Archbishop of York, was the means of disposing him of the primate's favour, and getting him banished from the palace. Next to his own uncommon parts he owed his restoration to Walter, the then Archdeacon of Canterbury, and brother to Theobald.

It does not clearly appear when Becket entered into deacon's orders, but he was probably ordained previous to his intimacy with Theobald. There is reason to suppose that he found himself inferior in information to the clergy he met at the archbishop's table ; but that at the same time he was aware that his own intellectual powers were undeveloped. But he was not the person to let them long lie dormant. Foxe, in his "Acts and Monuments," tells us, that his "first preferment was to the church of Branfield, which he had by the gift of St. Alban," which is not very intelligible. Theobald, however, favourably impressed towards him, presented him to the livings of St. Mary le Strand and Otteford in Kent, besides obtaining for him prebends in the cathedrals of London and Lincoln. Being only in deacon's orders, he must have held his preferments by a dispensation from the Pope.

Collision with others now fired his mind, and he determined to improve his great natural talents by severe study. With this view he obtained Theobald's permission to proceed to Bologna, the most celebrated university of the day, and the great school for the study of the civil and canon law. It was about this time that Gratian commenced his lectures there, and shortly after

⁸ John of Salisbury's lines prefixed to his "De nugis Curialium," are sufficient authority :

"Utque virum virtus animi, sic gratia formæ.
Undique mirandum gentibus esse facit."

published his celebrated "*Decretum*," or, "*Concordia discordantium Canonum*." There is some little difficulty with respect to the date of this remarkable work, but as Trithemius⁹ speaks of the *Decretum* as "ab Eugenio Papâ tertio approbatum," the limit here given may tend to reconcile the different statements in various histories. Be the date what it may, the Canon Law had now attained the rank of a science, and was studied in the schools accordingly. Whoever would rise in Church or State must be canonist and civilian. Becket was ambitious, and on his preferment made himself thoroughly master of the subject, and there can be little doubt but that the whole of his after life was imbued with that project of Rome which would erect, as it has been said, a spiritual monarchy, superior to all others, even in worldly power.

At "Bonony," as Foxe calls Bologna, he studied for a year, and then removed to Auxerre in Burgundy, where lectures were also read in the canon and civil law. At both places he was a severe student, and returned to England, not only well stored with learning, but, what would in the present day be called, a perfect diplomatist¹. The study of these laws had drawn out his wonderful capacity for negotiation, and it was this, till that time, latent talent, added to his courteous demeanour and natural quickness, which was the cause of his future rise and preferment.

It so happened that on his return to England, his talent for negotiation was just what Theobald wanted. William de Corboyl, the more to humble his rival Thurstan, Archbishop of York, had been prevailed upon to enslave himself and his successors in accepting the legateship of the Pope in England. On his death the primacy, contrary to the solemn promise of Stephen, continued vacant for two full years; after which, says Henry, King Stephen "was so mean and imprudent as to solicit the Pope to grant a legantine commission to his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester²." This he obtained, and had bitterly to repent of.

⁹ See "*Johannes Trithemius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*," p. 95, in the "*Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*" of Fabricius. Hamburgi, 1718, folio. The usual date ascribed to the publication of the *Decretum* is 1151.

¹ What Aubrey says of Cardinal Wolsey affords a remarkable parallel. "His rise was, his quick and prudent dispatch of a message to Paris for Henry VIII." Letters from the Bodleian, vol. ii. p. 588. Cavendish speaks more than once of his "fired tongue and excellent eloquence." See pp. 16. 19. of the beautiful edition by Rivingtons, 1852.

² See Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 228. ed. 8vo.

It was to recover the legantine power for Canterbury, that Becket's talents were now called in requisition, for up to this time that power was looked upon, though a chain of gold, as the greatest and most honourable post. So well did Becket acquit himself on this mission, that he was immediately entrusted with another of the greatest importance. In this matter likewise he was eminently successful, and it was by his means that the prohibitory letters were obtained which defeated the crowning of Prince Eustace. The result is clearly recorded by Lord Lyttelton, in his valuable history of Henry II. "At his return into England the archbishop conferred upon him several new favours, making him Provost of Beverley and Dean of Hastings, which benefices he held together with the former; and just before the death of Stephen, the Archdeaconry of Canterbury was likewise given to him by the same prelate. But these were only the beginnings of his advancement. For immediately after Henry's accession to the throne, he was made the king's chancellor, at the request of his patron, who thought no dignity or trust above his merit. Nor, in doing this, did Henry please the archbishop alone. Becket's promotion must have been extremely agreeable to the English; as he was the first of that nation, since the latter years of the reign of William the Conqueror, on whom any great office, either in the Church or State, had been conferred by the kings of the Norman race; the exclusion of them from all dignities being a maxim of policy, delivered down by that monarch to his sons, and founded (as we are told by William of Malmesbury) on the alarming example of what had befallen the Danes in England, after the decease of Canute the Great. For the English having been suffered, by the indulgence of Canute, to retain under him a large space of honour and power, the consequence was, that they soon recovered the government, and drove out the foreigners. Whether the expulsion of the latter were really owing to the cause here assigned, or to their own provoking insolence, may well be disputed: but this opinion, unquestionably, prevailed too much in the minds of the Normans, and continued too long. Even Henry I., who courted the affection of the English, as the chief strength of his government, and in other respects was kind to them, adhered to this maxim, more perhaps from an apprehension of offending the Normans, than

any jealousy in himself. Stephen and Matilda seem to have acted on the same principle; so that this dishonourable mark of humiliation and inequality remained fixed on that people, till the auspicious reign of Henry Plantagenet. He was the first who took it off³."

Becket was made chancellor at the age of thirty-seven. Whether or not Theobald and the Bishop of Winchester had any thought that he would be a curb on the king, and, by his moral influence, hinder the not uncommon spoliation of church-property at that time, is a question not easily answered. Be that as it may, he became indispensable to Henry, and none now was so much in repute as the archdeacon of Canterbury and the courteous chancellor. It was by his advice that the Flemings and other mercenaries, which had committed such depredations in Stephen's reign, were expelled the land. The same wise advice led also to the demolishing of those castles which had been erected during the civil wars, and which now were little better than the strongholds of bandits. Every effort seems to have been made to restore peace and quietness to the hitherto disturbed country, so that what Ranulph de Glanville says in his Preface, "*de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*," may with little allowance be looked upon as true. The poor man, no less than the rich, had justice in his cause, and might no more made right. Becket, in fact, appears to have given his sovereign the best advice, and what is more, to have seen that good advice was followed up by the executive.

The result of this was an attachment drawn closer day by day. The open manners of the prelate won the heart of the king. Their pursuits were such as to bring them often together in their hours of relaxation. The one as well as the other loved the chase, and the hound and the hawk led them both to the field. And it was now that the character of Becket became more developed, and his ambition was not difficult to be discerned. The same man that was even overkind and affable to those beneath

³ Vol. i. p. 22, ut supra. M. Thierry accounts for the hold Becket had on the lower orders in the same way. The supposition is, to say the least, ingenious; but it is not so novel as the writer in the British Magaz. imagines. See vol. iii. p. 144. After all it is not certain that Becket was a Saxon. The name has more of Norman sound in it.

him, was observed to be proud and ceremonious in the presence of his equals and superiors. He was probably above covetousness, in the more common acceptation of the word, but at the same time the monarch's favours were heaped upon him and received. The preferments which he held at this time were more numerous than might well be imagined. The ecclesiastic and the warrior seem to be combined in one person. Royal castles and forts, we read, were committed to his custody, together with the temporalities of vacant prelacies, and the escheats of great baronies belonging to the crown. The incomes of all these he made use of as though they were his own; and his sumptuous expenditure and gorgeous magnificence were unrivalled. His house was a sort of *contubernium*. The magnates of the kingdom sent their sons to his table; and all were ready to do him reverence. Wherever Becket was, there the nobles of the land were sure to be also. But with all this, and greatly to his credit, it is observed that he led a life of unsullied purity in the midst of excess, and was himself a noble instance of constant temperance and invincible chastity, when the one and the other were rarely to be found around him. It is likely enough that he participated in the pleasures of the king, influencing him all the while to the side of goodness, when another, in his place, might only have been a lord of misrule and a pander to licentiousness. Whatever the overruling cause, his enemies at this time have ever acknowledged his superiority⁴. But withal he was ambitious!

Under these circumstances we shall not be surprised to find him again engaged in negotiation and diplomacy. And the present was a matter of the utmost delicacy; nothing more or less than a political marriage between Prince Henry (now but three years of age) and Margaret, daughter of Lewis le Jeune, by his second wife, Constance, princess of Castile,—an infant. In this, as in his other negotiations, he was successful, and nothing, in the history of a subject, surpasses the costly magnificence he displayed in his train. The chronicles of the time are full of it, and it is from this that we are compelled, as one says, “to infer, that

⁴ This is excellently put in “His Character when Chancellor,” in some papers of the British Magazine, to which I shall have to make sundry references. They are contained in vol. ii. pp. 233. 453; vol. iii. pp. 31. 140. 399. 525. The writer states, “If his habits were secular for an archbishop, they were ascetic for a chancellor.”

ostentatious vanity, meditating extravagant ambition, was the leading feature of his mind⁵." It was on this occasion that Becket got consigned to the care of three Knights' Templars, Gisors, and the castles of Neufle and Neuschâtel, as the marriage portion of Margaret. A master-stroke of policy! as they commanded Henry's frontier in France, and were thus ready to serve his purpose in case of a war with Louis.

Becket is next to be viewed in the character of a warrior, little compatible, according to modern views, with the archdeacon and the chancellor. But such was not the case then, neither were the helm and the cowl so much estranged. The cause of his going to the wars was the claim that Henry had made, in right of his wife Eleanor, to the city of Toulouse; and it was for this war that Becket, (whether with sufficient evidence or not,) was said to have advised the payment of *scutage*⁶. This is a question of some importance as regards Becket; but I think the letter of Foliot, Bishop of London, cannot be well authenticated. Be that as it may, it was in this war that we find the future prelate performing feats of valour. In the train of his master he had helped to take Cahors; and when Louis was won over to assist Raymond, and had thrown himself rashly into Toulouse, with but a few soldiers, the fire of Becket's character at once burst forth, who, perceiving the error of the French king, advised Henry to attack the city, and seize on the person of his sovereign lord. This, however, Henry would not do; and possibly, in this instance, showed more wisdom than his chancellor. It was of consequence to keep up the feudal character; and it was to Louis that he had sworn fealty, and from whom he held his continental dominions. The breaking of this bond might at the time have been ominous. The end of the matter was, that Henry declared he would not besiege Toulouse, out of respect to the King of France; but he held himself at liberty to ravage all the territories of Earl Raymond, which he did. Towards the end of the year he left Becket at Cahors; and it was upon this occasion

⁵ Sharon Turner, vol. i. p. 229.

⁶ There seems to be evidence that the *scutage* was imposed on the clergy by Becket's advice besides this. It is drawn from a letter of John of Salisbury, written to Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, in the summer of 1166. See Brit. Mag., ii. 456.

that he showed himself the soldier, taking three castles heretofore considered impregnable. "It was during this part of his warfare," we read, that "he engaged in single combat Engelran de Trie, a French knight, very famous for his valour, dismounted him with his lance, and gained his horse, which he led off in great triumph⁷." This took place in 1159; and here we must part with the warrior, and look upon Becket only in the light of an ecclesiastic, as bold in action as ripe in judgment. Now seemed the time, if ever, for the popedom to withstand the encroachments of Henry of England,—and that mighty hierarchy, seldom unwise in the choice of means or agents, quick and keen in observing, had not failed to note in Becket, during his several negotiations in Rome, that acuteness which characterized him, as well as his enthusiastic devotion to the right, and determined and dogged opposition to what he considered wrong. Perhaps the secret instructions of Rome might have run somewhat like to the lines of Pandulph, as addressed to Philip:—

"All form is formless, order orderless,
Save what is opposite to England's love.
Therefore, to arms, be champion of our Church!
Or, let the Church, our mother, breathe her curse,
A mother's curse, on her revolting son⁸!"

Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, died April 18th, 1161; and in him Henry lost an affectionate friend, and faithful servant. There is reason to think that this prelate was opposed to the encroachments made on the Church; but his object seems to have been mediation; and he was not unsuccessful. From his attachment to Becket, he no doubt foresaw his advancement, and rejoiced in it.

Henry, on the death of Theobald, was in Normandy. Immediately on hearing of it, he determined, in his own mind, that his favourite should succeed. It is clear that he looked for no opposition to his projects from Becket; on the contrary, he expected his help. As certain of his biographers tell us, he raised him to the see of Canterbury, *because he hoped, that by this means, he should manage ecclesiastical, as well as secular affairs, to his own*

⁷ Lyttelton, ut supra, vol. ii. p. 101.

⁸ King John, Act iii. sc. i.

satisfaction ⁹. Were the letter of Foliot, Bishop of London, unquestionably genuine, there would be no doubt but that Henry was justified in these sentiments. The conduct of Becket, with respect to Battle Abbey ¹, together with his imposing on the clergy the tax of scutage, would at once have shown that the king might rely upon his assistance. But, notwithstanding what Sharon Turner says, and the reasoning of Lyttelton, the letter alluded to is scarcely admissible as evidence. The strongest evidence for it is the king's determination, resisted for nearly a year by the Empress Maud, and the combined opposition of the clergy and bishops in England.

But did Becket wish his exaltation? This is a question never likely to be solved. The letter of Foliot, of course, declares that he did. It is related, however, that when Henry apprised Becket of his intention to promote him to the archbishopric, the latter told him, with a smile,—*Olli subridens*,—"That it would certainly be the cause of a breach between them, as he never could give his assent to many things which the king would require,—nay, to what he had already done in matters ecclesiastical." One can hardly imagine that so wise a prince as Henry was likely to persist in his choice after such a declaration on Becket's part. The obvious conclusion seems to be, supposing the story true, that what was said with a smile, was not intended to be taken in earnest. Henry well knew his chancellor, and was not likely to be deceived. And on this, in a great measure, turns the honesty of Becket. Was he, or was he not, over imbued with the subtleties of Bologna, the craft of Rome, the insidious lore of the Decretals, and the ambition of the hierarchy? Let the rest of his life declare. All opposition in England was borne down by the determination of Henry. He was elected Archbishop of Westminster on the 3rd of June, 1162, and consecrated at Canterbury on the 6th, having taken priests' orders only on the day

⁹ These words are from the *Histor. Quadripart.* literally translated by Lyttelton. It will be observed, that although I quote them, I agree rather with the writer in the *British Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 237. Below, likewise, I have omitted the account of the vermin in the hair-shirt, as it does not seem a fact sufficiently authenticated. His reputed abstinence is also unrecorded, but it did not seem equally necessary to question his moderation and temperance. Certainly he was not abstemious, in an ascetic sense.

¹ But see the matter discussed in the *Brit. Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 455, 456.

before. It was on this that Foliot, afterwards Bishop of London², ventured to say, *that the king had worked a miracle, in having that day turned a layman and a soldier into an archbishop.*

If Henry was deceived in his chancellor, the clergy and bishops were not less so. His thorough change of life and habits will remind the classical reader of Polemon's change³, as Xenocrates reasoned on temperance and modesty, whilst the thoughtful Christian will call to mind the working of God's Spirit in His chosen ones. Wonderful are His operations! And the character of Becket may have been so wrought upon! At all events the transformation, to outward appearance, was complete. The man was not the same. In the place of the studied and pliant courtier was to be found the austere and devoted penitent⁴! The vivacity of the soldier was turned into the solemnity of the monk! He seemed wholly absorbed in spiritual concerns. He prayed often, and was much in reading the Holy Scriptures. Under the archbishop's dress he was known to wear the frock of his order, and under that the penitential hair cloth. He doubled the charitable doles of his predecessor Theobald, who had himself done the same, and distributed in constant alms the tenth part of the revenue of the see. It is said that in outward appearance he no ways lowered the dignity of his station, and that he was still, what Scripture teaches those of his position to be,—*given*, that is, to *hospitality*. But, as above stated, all this was with a difference! If the haughty spirit yet burned within, as his actions seemed to declare it did, the abbot of the monks of Canterbury fulfilled his office. He submitted to the stripes of a penitent,—the position of his warfare was now on his knees,—his retirements were frequent, and he was daily known to wash the feet of thirteen poor persons, distributing at the same time

² Consecrated Bishop of London, April 28th, 1163. See his character drawn in the British Magazine, vol. iii. p. 35. The letter above alluded to seems to have been rather a "*published pamphlet*, to vindicate his conduct in the eyes of his own generation and posterity."

³ See Hor. ii. Sat. iii. v. 254, &c.

⁴ There is room for doubt on this point, as is shown from John of Salisbury's Letter, written in the beginning of 1165, but I am rather inclined to the statement I have given. What was here, it may be, put on, became afterwards a part and parcel of the inward man, at all events.

to their necessities. So diligent was he likewise in all the duties of his office, so fully given to the service of the altar, that the monks who had opposed his elevation to the see, confessed their mistake, and declared that a miracle of Divine grace stood before them ! As recorded in the histories of the time,—*In ordinatione suâ, unctione misericordiæ Dei visibili perfusus, exiit secularem hominem !*

The above is certainly a most extraordinary change ; and the world, and the world's experience, teach us to receive such changes warily. But still, as it is well remarked⁵, though "moderation be the best pledge of sincerity, excess is no positive proof of hypocrisy." Indeed, the whole tenor of Becket's life was far removed from that. It was his ambition rather, which was more than a match for his religious feelings, which induced men to brand him with the foul name of hypocrite. What was the favour of a prince, though mighty as Henry, compared to that empire which he proposed to himself to usurp over the hearts of men ?

Becket was not long in finding out that the two offices of Chancellor⁶ and Archbishop of Canterbury were incompatible. Once come to a decision, he acted upon it forthwith, and sent the seals to the king in Normandy, with this short message : "That he desired him to provide himself with another chancellor ; for he could hardly suffice to the duties of one office, much less of two." Henry, doubtless, must have been taken by surprise ; and hopes of Becket's co-operation were at an end. Besides, the way in which he had resigned the seals was little like his ancient courtesy,—little in accordance with that Scripture, which teaches all, much more the Churchman, to "be courteous." It was a severing, as with a blunt sword, all ties of friendship ; and there seemed, too, something of ingratitude towards a kind and indulgent master. Henry also would not fail to recollect that at

⁵ By Sir James Mackintosh. See Hist. of England, vol. i. 154.

⁶ The only instance in which Becket seems to have acted on the same principle as chancellor and archbishop, was in resisting the withdrawal of Mary, Stephen's daughter, from her convent. She was a nun, and Abbess of Rumsey in Hampshire.

"Anno D. 1161. Maria Abbatissa de Rumsey, filia regis Stephani, Matthæo comiti Bononie nupsit, quibus nuptiis Thomas Bekket cancellar. Angl. obstitit." Leland's Collectan.—vol. i. part ii. p. 419.

this time one of the imperial chancellors was Archbishop of Mentz, and the other of Cologne. Whence, then, this hasty scruple and precipitate resignation on Becket's part?

Henry returned to England in January, 1163. Previous to this he had no doubt received many accounts of Becket, both from friends and enemies. The former would represent him as the conscientious ecclesiastic; the other, as a monster of ingratitude; and it is not to be doubted whether of the two reports would be most acceptable to the wounded feelings of the monarch. When the king landed at Southampton Becket met him, with the young Henry, his pupil. But the meeting was a cool one. Common formalities and civilities were gone through; but the members of the court were quick enough to observe that there was no cordiality. Neither was this confined to surmises; for the king at once required him to resign the archdeaconry of Canterbury⁷, as it appeared quite as incompatible with the primacy as did the office of chancellor. For a time Becket would not give it up, knowing it was about to be presented to Geoffrey de Riddel, whom he disliked. From this, or whatever other motive, he held the preferment till it was wrested from him. Southey remarks pointedly, "he must have acted undoubtedly on some imagined right; covetousness could have no place in a mind like his⁸."

April 16, 1163, Pope Alexander, acknowledged by the French and English kings, instead of his rival Victor, held the Synod of Tours. At this—forgetting that Alexander had a hand in compiling the Decretals, which bolstered up the claims of Rome—the archbishops and bishops of England were permitted to be present, unless hindered by sickness. Probably Becket was the only prelate whose presence was really required, and the invitation of the others only served as a mask. He was received by Pope and cardinals with marked attention; of the latter, all but

⁷ The preferments and appointments held by Becket at one time are not a little remarkable; i. The living of St. Mary le Strand; ii. Otteford in Kent; iii. and iv. Two Prebends in the Cathedrals of Lincoln and London; v. Provostship of Beverley; vi. Deanery of Hastings; vii. Archdeaconry of Canterbury; viii. The Chancellorship, together with "royal castles and forts committed to his custody, and the escheats of the great baronies belonging to the crown." Lyttelton, ii. p. 30; ix. The Tutorship of the Young Prince Henry; x. The Archbishopric of Canterbury.

⁸ See Life of Becket. Book of the Church, vol. i. 148.

two, who attended on the Pope, went out to meet him. He was stationed with his suffragans on his right hand; and nothing was wanting to flatter either his vanity or his ambition. They knew the man, and what Milton calls, "That last infirmity of noble minds"; and the business of the council proceeded, in which *the care of the liberties of the Clergy* was a predominant feature. It is little to be doubted but that Becket was now confirmed in his resolutions. The question of Anselm's canonization (deferred till Henry the Seventh's reign) was possibly used as a *façon de parler*. What Becket returned impressed with, was the determination to enforce the third Canon, enacted there against those who usurped the goods of the Church.

And by this determination he abided. Of the king he demanded the castle and town of Rochester; of Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, the castle of Tunbridge. The latter he alleged had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury; and no length of time was good against the claims of the Church, according to the Canon Law. This, it appears, was the first practical application of Becket's studies at Bologna. The next strong case mentioned, is the collation of a priest, named Lawrence, to the rectory of Eynesford, in Kent, (still, by a curious coincidence, in the gift of the Archbishops of Canterbury,) against the right of patronage vested in the lord of the manor. The collation was resisted, and the consequence was that Becket excommunicated his adversary,—thus trenching on the prerogative of the Crown. This sentence, however, Becket was presently obliged to withdraw, and, as will readily be supposed, Henry was not the more inclined to his old associate, from a message he had sent him, worded thus: "It was not for the king to command either absolution or excommunication!" As to the question of presentation it no doubt contains great difficulties; and there is as little doubt that the Church has been robbed of her rights, century after century, up to the present day¹. Becket must have had good ground to stand upon, or he would not have acted with the decision he did; but the probability is that he acted with over great

⁹ Lycidas, v. 70.

¹ See the case stated in the British Magazine, vol. iii. p. 145, 146. It would appear that the Archbishop of York would have compromised the point in question by buying off lay claimants to Church patronage. But it was not conceded.

precipitateness. He was aware how great was the injustice with which the Church had been treated, and did not in his zeal consider the profligate lives many Churchmen were then leading. The two questions, it is true, are quite distinct; but when the *preaching and living* of ecclesiastics was taken into consideration, the unworthiness of their lives led the age to conclude they were unworthy of their preferments.

Henry seems to have been sincere in his conviction, that the state of the clergy at this time was not what it should be;—at the same time he passed an easy and a willing fallacy on himself, and was not scrupulous in retaining in his own hands the revenues of the Church. Benefices, and even bishoprics, were left vacant for years that the exchequer might be enriched.

Impressed with the undue immunities of the priesthood, Henry determined to alter the existing law. Under the Anglo-Saxon kings, and for awhile during the reign of William I., the Sheriff and the Bishop sat together to judge causes in the Earl's², or County Court. "It was a court," says the historian, "of great power and dignity, in which the bishop of the diocese sat with the earl, and on which all the abbots, priors, barons, knights, and freeholders of the county were obliged to attend³." About the year 1085, William I. (from whatever causes) separated the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, ordering the causes of the Church to be tried before clerical tribunals. The result was, the establishment of three ecclesiastical courts: the archdeacon's, the bishop's, and the archbishop's. No arrangement, in modern eyes, could have been more injudicious. These courts must necessarily follow the Canon Law, and, by following it, the mitre and the crown were set at variance, and the only appeal lay to the Pope. The clergy became, in fact, *sui juris*. No offence, however heinous, could by the Canon Law be punished with death—but in the place of it stripes, severe penance, solitary confinement, degradation, and branding were substituted. It might appear that such punishments were severe enough; but they did not prove so. There is

² Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, reconciles this apparent difficulty in the mention of Earl and Sheriff, "The Sheriffs of counties had the government and custody of them, and not the Earls, (unless they were Palatine,) otherwise than in cases where they had the sheriffwicks joined with their dignities." *Kelham's Domesday Book*, p. 358.

³ See Henry, vol. iii. p. 339.

every reason to believe that the faults of the clergy, and, alas! that one must say, their crimes, were exaggerated. To deny, however, the historical fact, would be to run counter to all historic testimony.

And at this time it so happened that three cases of flagrant guilt presented themselves to Henry's notice, proving to him, at least, how unwise a thing it was for the clergy to be exempt from secular judicature. The cases alluded to are those of Philip de Broc, canon of Bedford, who had insulted Simon FitzPeter, one of the king's officers, at Dunstable;—that of a priest at Worcester, who had seduced the daughter, and murdered the father;—and the third, that of a priest who had stolen the chalice from the archbishop's own church in London. Each of these, it is true, had been punished: the first by stripes, suspension, and banishment; the next by the severest penance and solitary confinement for life⁴; the third by degradation from all orders, and branding. The second case, however, was one so flagrant, that the king justly thought that nothing less than capital punishment ought to have been inflicted on the delinquent. And here it was that the Canon Law came in collision with Scripture, and the law of the land. How Becket could misunderstand the plain verse in the Book of Genesis is not easily intelligible. The Canon Law he had sworn to observe, and that he should abide by his oath was not remarkable. It would have been, if he had not done so. He accordingly took his stand.

The complaints which were made as to clerical delinquencies, and the escape of that order when other subjects suffered death for crimes no worse,—(it was said that a hundred cases of homicide had been committed by the clergy during this reign,)—determined the king to call a council of the clergy and nobility at Westminster. On their coming together he gave it in, as his opinion, that delinquent ecclesiastics were worthy of double punishment, and that if they were, by virtue of their order, to escape corporal pains,

⁴ See British Magazine, vol. iii. p. 155. The original is there given: "*Archipræsul verò consultus mandavit ut omni privatus Ecclesiastico Beneficio exauctoraretur, et in monasterio ad agendam perpetuam vitæ districtissimæ penitentiam perpetuò recluderetur.*"

See the remarks of Johnson in his *Ecclesiastical Laws*, vol. ii. Articles of Clarendon. They are much to the purpose. Possibly what he says of *Philip de Broc* is incorrect. The cases seem to be mistaken.

crime would only be increased. He demanded, therefore, that if they stood convicted of grievous crimes they should be degraded and delivered over to the secular authorities for punishment, and that one of his officers should be present to preclude their escape. Becket was well aware, that what the king now said had reference to one of the late flagrant cases, and he saw the effect of the king's speech on the prelates who were present. He requested that they might be allowed to consult together, and return an answer the next morning. This the king denied, but allowed them to retire for awhile. Inclined as the rest of the bishops were to accede to the king's request, Becket contrived to talk them over, and to persuade them that degradation from orders was a sufficient punishment, and that to punish twice for a single crime was unjust. The only concession made was, "That if a clergyman, who had been degraded, should afterwards be guilty of other crimes, the royal judges, in that case, might punish him for them, according to their discretion⁵." The result was, that nothing was acceded to, except "*salvo ordine*", by all the bishops present, save the Bishop of Chichester. Whether he was impressed with the justice of the demand, and conscious that a stop ought to be put to the immunities of the clergy, is a truth we cannot now arrive at. Becket, however, conceived that he was intimidated, and rebuked him severely. The end of the matter was, that the king rose up in anger without saluting the bishops, and the next day deprived Becket of his post as tutor to the young prince, as well as of such castles as he had not delivered up with the chancellor's seals.

It is very difficult to judge of motives at this distance of time, but there can be little doubt but that Becket acted, as he thought, conscientiously. It should be observed, moreover, that the king had here made a double demand. There was, first, the statute relative to ecclesiastics, and then, as though to make new ground, the question was put, *Whether they would observe the ancient customs and laws of his realm?* To have answered in the affirmative might have entailed consequences not hastily foreseen. There seems little doubt that the question was an insidious one, and that it was parried by the acuteness of Becket. Most will now think that he acted wrongly, but his intention was to maintain the right.

⁵ Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 350.

Between the council at Westminster, which was in October, and the council of the realm, (it was in fact a Parliament⁶), which was held at Clarendon in the following January, 1164, much secret influence seems to have been at work. Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, had come to England, ostensibly for a reconciliation with Henry. But it is said that he also gave the king advice which little became a prelate of his dignity and station. He advised him, that is, to make a party with the bishops, and to divide them, by which means he would be the better enabled to win over Becket to his purpose. It is said, likewise, that the archbishop was beset on all sides by nobles, courtiers, ecclesiastics. No stone was left unturned, and his friendship with the king in former days was again cast in his teeth, and the sin of ingratitude laid at his door. To the Bishop of Chichester his answer was decided—*If an angel should come from heaven, and advise him to make the acknowledgement desired by the king, without the saving he had thrown in, he would anathematise him.* We may be certain that this was not the person to influence the archbishop. But, extraordinary as it may appear, Rome seems to have been at work—unless we may suppose that Henry's money made the Pope's Almoner speak beyond his instructions. Whether or not, he told Becket that it was Alexander's wish that he should recede somewhat from the high ground he had so resolutely taken. An abbot, or, as others say, a cardinal, was induced to tell Becket that all which the king required was to be honoured—like Saul of old—before his subjects, and that it was rather a nominal than a real compliance which he exacted. It is likely enough that Becket was well aware how English gold had been at work, and he might not wish to make a discovery so prejudicial to the honour of Rome. Be this as it may, he was induced to yield, and he waited on the king at Woodstock, telling him that he would observe the *royal customs*, without annexing to this promise, as he had done before, the obnoxious words, *salvo ordine*. Henry received him courteously, but there could not be that frankness on their meeting

⁶ See Cowel's Law Dictionary in V. *Parliamentum*, and Raleigh's Prerogative, Works, vol. viii. Ed. Clar. Mr. Churton, in his Early Hist. of the English Church, says, "it is incorrect to call this a parliament," p. 344. Lyttelton, however, and Henry (no mean authorities), give it this name, as does also the lamented Southey. Some errors of Mr. Churton are dwelt upon in an Article of the Church of England Quarterly Review for April, 1841.

which was of old, when the wishes and inclinations of the one were equally so of the other. He expressed himself willing that matters should be settled, but implied that it should be done in a public manner before the bishops and the nobles of the realm. Becket acceded to the proposal, mortified beyond doubt at the king's want of confidence in his ancient friend. And so they parted.

One who shall travel from the eastern parts of the land to visit that noble monument of our forefathers' piety—the Cathedral of Salisbury⁷—will have to pass, three and a half miles on this side of it, that ancient chase and residence of kings and queens, now, and from the time of the second Charles, bearing the name of Clarendon Park, but anciently called Chloridunum, or Chlorus' hill, from the Roman camp supposed to have been enlarged by Constantinus Chlorus. It was a spot of ancient repute, and the Roman way from Winchester to Old Sarum passes through the liberty. Here Edward the Martyr spent the day previous to his assassination, and in later times than we are now writing of, Richard I., John, and Henry III., made it their residence. When the plague of 1357 was raging in London, it is recorded also that Edward III., with his royal prisoners, the Kings of France and Scotland, passed the summer here. Leland mentions a priory here, called *Ivy Chirch*⁸, and it was from this same place that the great Lord Clarendon derived his title.

On this spot it was that the great council of the realm was held, at which the Constitutions of Clarendon were drawn up, and here it was that Becket was called upon to fulfil the promise made to the king at Woodstock, on the festival of St. Hilary, towards the end of January 1164. It appears, however, that the archbishop, on maturely weighing the promise he had made, had reason to

⁷ It is recorded in Dr. Pope's *Life of Seth Ward, Bp. of Sarum*, that the Cathedral was kept in repair by a royal gentry, during the whole time of the civil war. He wished he knew their names, "that I might, as far as in me lies, consecrate them to posterity."—p. 61. Ed. 1697.

⁸ See *Letters from the Bodleian*, vol. ii. p. 552, Part ii. Aubrey tells us in his account of Sir Philip Sydney "that he was much at Wilton with his sister, and at Ivy Church (anciently a pleasant monastery, which adjoynes to the parke pale of Clarendon Parke), situated on a hill that overlooks all the country westwards and north, over Sarum and the plaius, and into that delicious park (which was accounted the best of England) eastwards. It was heretofore a monastery (the cloysters remaine still); 'twas called Cœnobium Edrosium." For further information, see *White Kennet's Par. Ant. of Allcheester*, vol. ii. p. 422.

conclude that it was a rash one. He, therefore, refused to ratify it according to the terms then proposed, alleging that the promise he had made to the king was not to that intent. The consequence was a burst of wrath⁹ on the part of Henry, and the most violent behaviour, combined with threats, on the part of his barons. The scene was little befitting such a council. If it was unbecoming the nobility of the land, it was dishonourable to the king. For three days the most violent debates continued, and eventually, by the entreaties of the bishops who nevertheless still held with him, and by the advice of the Prior of the Temple in London, and another Knight Templar, his friend, the feelings of Becket, rather than his judgment, were worked upon, and, without the "*salvo ordine*," he promised to obey the laws and customs which had been established in England in the reign of Henry I., and the rest of the bishops gave their consent likewise. But now there arose a difficulty. It was not decidedly known what the ancient laws and royal customs were, and they could not be committed to writing at the spur of the moment. The chief counsellors present were at a stand, and could not rely on their memories. They did what they could, and were proceeding in their work when Becket, on perhaps being applied to for his assistance, declared that he was not one of the sages of the kingdom—that the matter was one of extreme difficulty—that it should not be slurred over in haste. On these grounds he proposed it should stand over till the next morning.

The next day the sixteen recognitions, or constitutions, were produced, and Henry required the prelates to affix to them their seals. The rest of the bishops did so, but Becket again drew back. They were not what he expected. They went to subvert all ecclesiastical power and discipline; and, on these grounds, he once more refused his assent to them. At all events, he declined to affix his signature for the present. Three transcripts were then made of the articles, one of which was delivered to the primate, another to the Archbishop of York, and a third was received by the king himself, to be laid up among the royal charters. The preamble to the constitutions, it is to be observed, contained the primate's consent to them, so that, in fact, it would serve as a testimony against his tergiversation.

⁹ Henry's ungovernable fits of passion are often alluded to.

But does it necessarily follow that his conduct was such as is represented? Certainly not. The constitutions, as drawn out and read the next morning, had been matured in the counsels of the night. Becket had assented, it is true, to obey the ancient laws and customs; but, then, many of them were novel in their expression, and noted down "for the nones." Besides, what is compulsory is not binding, and Becket found himself hedged in by his enemies, and his friends were overcome. But history records that he wrote, in conjunction with the Archbishop of York, requesting the Pope to confirm the ancient customs of the kingdom¹; and, at the same time, wrote another letter, in private, declaring his repentance and contrition for the assent he had given, adding that he had imposed upon himself the penance of a forty days' absence from the altar. The Pope, it appears, absolved him from his oath, but counselled him to be moderate. How are these contradictions of character to be accounted for! Sharon Turner is the primate's fairest apologist.

"In justice to Becket it must be admitted that these famous articles completely changed the legal and civil state of the clergy, and were an actual subversion, as far as they went, of the papal policy and system of hierarchy, so boldly introduced by Gregory VII. These new constitutions abolished that independence on the legal tribunals of the country, which William had unwarily permitted; and they again subjected the clergy, as in the Anglo-Saxon times, to the common law of the land. The eighth article vested the ultimate judgment, in ecclesiastical causes, in the king; by the fourth, no clergyman was to depart from the kingdom without the royal licence, and if required, was to give security that he would do nothing abroad to the prejudice of the king or the kingdom; by the twelfth, the revenues of all prelacies, abbeys, and priories, were to be paid into the exchequer during their vacancy, and when the successor should be appointed, he was to do homage to the king as his liege lord, before his consecration. These and other points in these celebrated constitutions, though wise and just, and now substantially the law of the land, were yet so hostile to the great papal system of making the Church inde-

¹ There is here again some difficulty as to the exact date. See *British Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 525. It appears that the Pope had this matter under consideration as late as the 1st of March.

pendent of the secular power, if not superior to it, that an ecclesiastic of that day, according to the prevailing feelings of his order, might have fairly resisted them. The fault of Becket lay in taking the prelacy with a knowledge of the king's intention to have these new laws established, and in provoking the contest, and pursuing his opposition with all the pride and vehemence of fierce ambition and vindictive hostility²."

It is possible that the latter sentence might be partially rebutted, in other respects what is said is just. At any rate Becket was in earnest, and he went to Woodstock to ask an audience of the king, which the latter unhappily refused to grant. He then resolved on flight, under the impression that his person was no longer safe in England. Twice he endeavoured to embark at Rumney, and twice was obliged to return, whether by contrary winds, or the fears of the mariners. As it was, he only just arrived at Canterbury in time to save the spoliation of his goods, where the officers of justice had been sent by the king, on report of his flight, to seize on the temporalities of the see. His departure had been contrary to the Constitutions of Clarendon, but his reappearance put a stop to the execution of the king's order. Becket, aware of his mistake, once more sought the king's presence at Woodstock, and it would appear that the king, on second thoughts, had arrived at the conclusion that the primate might have wrought him harm in France. The consequence was that he was favourably received, but the half-playful, half-earnest question of the king was not lost upon the archbishop: "If the reason of his desire to quit the country was that the same land could not contain them both?" The result of this meeting was unfavourable. Two such practised diplomatists as Becket and the king could not mistake each other. The die was cast, and war to the knife ensued.

Shortly after this matters arose which tended to widen the breach. Becket still determined to protect the clergy, and the king to act up to the Constitutions of Clarendon. The fuller detail must be sought from the historians who have written on the time. A subject of discord arose first relative to one John, the king's mareschal, whom Becket, it is said, refused to right, and for this, when summoned by the king, refused to obey. The arch-

² Vol. i. p. 246.

bishop defended himself, and proved the charge to be false. But he was no longer in a situation to meet with even-handed justice. He was accordingly accused of contumacy, and commanded to appear before the great council of the realm at Northampton, in October³ this same year. Once more the primate sought to appease his sovereign's wrath before the business began, but he was busied with his falcons, and on the morning following when Becket, after mass, arose humbly either to give or receive the kiss of peace, Henry drew back. The sword was unsheathed, and the scabbard thrown away. And it was here, and in the whole course of the proceedings that the king lost himself, and Becket, in the eyes of posterity, showed how great a man he was. The spiritual accusations and the defence of the clergy were soon dropped, and the council was forced to listen to an unjust tissue of private transactions. For his non-appearance in the first instance he was accused of high treason! and instead of commutation of sentence, as usual, being allowed at forty shillings, he was fined five hundred pounds in place of all his goods and chattels. The next day the king required him to refund three hundred pounds which he had levied on the castles of Eye and Berkhamstead, while in his possession. He replied "That he had expended more than that upon their repair,—but the money should be no cause of offence between him and his sovereign,—he would pay it" The king then demanded five hundred pounds he had lent him as chancellor. The prelate replied that "it was a gift, not a loan,—but that he would refund it," and gave sureties to the amount. If there was little of what was princely in all this, what followed on the Saturday, or third day, was less so. The claim then brought forward was in the most determined spirit of revenge. Nothing less than the primate's utter ruin was uppermost in the king's heart. He demanded no less a sum than 250,000 marks, the amount of monies which Becket had received as chancellor, on account of the crown, from vacant abbeys, bishoprics, and other escheats. His reply was, that on his appointment to the see of Canterbury, (as Henry of Winchester likewise said in his defence,) *he was given to the Church free and discharged from all the bonds of the court.* He asked permission, however, to consult with his brethren, the

³ The date is variously given. Berington says the 11th, Henry the 17th, others mention the 8th and 7th.

bishops present. They withdrew and the matter was debated. None but Henry of Winchester stood firm. Finding himself all but deserted, he applied to the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall for a respite till the morrow, when he would return an answer as God should direct him. The morrow was Sunday, so that the answer was deferred till the Monday.

Meanwhile Becket was deserted by most of his friends and retainers, but the spirit of the man rose under pressure, and he called in the poor of the neighbourhood to fill their vacant places at his table. "They would obtain him an easier victory," he said, "than those could have done, who had deserted him in his hour of need." But though the spirit was strong the body was overcome, and that evening he was attacked with colic, and on the Monday morning following was unable to leave his bed. Once more he asked a respite, and said that, if carried on a litter, he would present himself on the Tuesday.

On the Monday evening he was warned that his life was in danger; and early on the Tuesday the bishops came to him and urged him to submission. He rebuked them sternly for deserting him, and charged them not to presume to sit in judgment on their primate, but that, if need were, they were "to thunder out the proper ecclesiastical censures." Having said this, he performed his devotions in the Church at the altar dedicated to St. Stephen, beginning with the words, *Princes sate and spake against me*;—and thus strengthened he prepared himself for the battle.

His chaplain should have borne his cross before him, and the Bishop of Hereford requested that he might do so. "No!" said Becket, in whose heart a holy devotion now burned, "By this sign the Prince I fight under will be known!" And so saying he entered the council chamber. The king, hearing how Becket was "armed," had retired into an inner chamber. His rage knew no bounds, and he found himself foiled. The bishops were called in, and threatened. They expressed their alarm to Becket, and bade him fly. But the spirit of the martyr was upon him, as his words to Bartholomew of Exeter, without moving from his seat, declared; "Fly then! for thou knowest not what appertains to God." Henry and the bishops were now at a loss what to do, and the council was confounded. Becket, when required, declined to abide by the judgment of the court. If attainted, the bishops could not be

present and join with the temporal barons in their judgment, without subjecting themselves to spiritual censures. They were in a dilemma. At the last they bethought them that it would be best to appeal to the Pope, declining any longer to obey Becket, as a perjured archbishop. Hilary of Chichester was the spokesman. Becket at once saw the trap of their own devising which they had fallen into, and simply answered, on the day of appeal being named, "I hear you!" Presently the Earl of Leicester, as Grand Justiciary, came in to declare to Becket the judgment of the barons, and was about to announce their sentence, should he refuse to give an account of the monies charged against him. "My sentence!" exclaimed the archbishop, "nay, Sir Earl, but hear you first!" He then declared that it was not for them to judge him, as an ecclesiastical superior. His only superior was the Pope, and, taught by him, to the Pope he appealed. "And you, my brethren and fellow bishops, who have preferred the obedience of man to that of God, I cite you to the presence of our Lord the Pope. Thus guarded by the power of the Catholic Church, and the Apostolic See, I retire hence." Spoken like the man, and with the dignity which became him! None had courage or desire to oppose his departure; but voices were heard to declare that he retired like a perjured traitor. It was on this occasion that the warrior spirit, as before Toulouse, burst out afresh, and turning round, and sternly gazing on his revilers, he said, "Did not my holy orders forbid it, I would by arms defend myself against the charge of treason and perjury!" We must lament the weakness of human nature when he reviled an officer of the household, and Earl Hamelin, in turn; but the burst above mentioned is characteristic of the man. It is added that the people were all on his side and followed him home with loud acclamations. But to remain in England after this, he thought would be only to throw away his life. The Bishops of Worcester, Hereford, and Rochester, therefore, waited at his request on the king, and craved permission for him to depart, "To-morrow," said Henry, "I will lay the request before the council." By the morrow Becket was gone. Hiding himself by day, and travelling only by night, after many difficulties he arrived at Sandwich, and embarked from thence in a small fisher-boat, Tuesday, November 10, and the same evening landed not far from Gravelines. The only companions of his flight were

a monk of the Cistercian order, and Herbert de Boseham, who afterwards wrote his life, and left these particulars on record. His course in the first instance was northwards, to Lincoln, to evade pursuit; thence, forty miles to a hermitage in the fens, where he tarried three days, and matured his plans, adopting the name of Brother Christian. He turned now to the south-east, and thus journeyed till he arrived at Estray in Kent, a manor belonging to the priory of Canterbury, where he is said to have been concealed some days, his hiding place being known only to a single priest. It is likewise recorded that from thence he got to Canterbury⁴, where, through a hole in the wall of his retreat, he heard mass previous to his departure.

Henry did not expect so hasty a retreat, and the moment it was known he issued orders to watch the ports, particularly Dover. By the advice of the council, an embassy to the Pope was determined on to procure, if possible, Becket's deposition, consisting of the Bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Exeter, together with the Archbishop of York, and the Earl of Arundel. Till the result was known, none of the primate's temporalities were to be touched, none of his friends and dependents were to be injured. They presently departed well furnished with money; with letters also to the French King and the Earl of Flanders, requesting them to give no asylum to the fugitive.

It so happened that this embassy sailed from Dover to Calais at the same time that Becket crossed over from Sandwich to Gravelines. He was landed within a league of this place, and had to travel to it, weary in body, and harassed in mind. To add to his difficulties his journey was through a storm of wind and rain. He sank down in the miry road overcome with fatigue, and would have died but for the help of a horse which carried him to the town. Here his mien and manner were not to be mistaken, and he was recognized by his host⁵, who proved true, and the next day

⁴ It is so stated by Turner, but it seems doubtful. It was probably at Estray, as stated by the writer in the *British Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 526.

⁵ It is likewise recorded that, "Not long after he landed, a boy, who was standing by the roadside with a hawk on his wrist, was attracted by the evident pleasure with which Becket eyed his bird, and cried out, 'There goes the archbishop!'"—*Brit. Mag.*, iii. 517. It should be recollected that Matteo, Count of Boulogne, whose marriage Becket had opposed with the Abbess of Romsey, had given orders that a strict watch should be kept for him on the coast.

acted as his guide to Clairmarais, a convent near St. Omer, where he learnt that the ambassadors from England had just entered the walls. Here he lay concealed till they departed, and then was received with all respect at the Abbey of St. Bertin, after a concealment of three days and nights. It was here that he dropped the name of Brother Christian.

The ambassadors meanwhile proceeded to the French King, who was then at Compiègne. Their reception was any thing but flattering, and when Louis read in Henry's letter the words "*late archbishop*," he exclaimed "late archbishop forsooth!" demanding by whom he had been deposed. He added, moreover, that "he too was a king as Henry was, but that it was not in his power to depose the meanest clerk." The matter ended by his declaring that he should protect the primate. He made the same answer to the two monks, Becket's companions, who had followed the ambassadors, and, besides this, sent word to the Pope that "he should maintain the cause of the archbishop in all points, as well as his person, against the tyrant of England." These monks arrived at Sens, where Alexander then was, before the ambassadors had had a public audience. They were admitted in private, and declared what persecutions Becket had undergone. The Pope felt the delicacy of his situation, and made them a reply which seemed somewhat equivocal. The next day a public consistory was to be held. But it would appear that in the mean while English gold had been distributed amongst the cardinals. At all events, they do not seem to have declared themselves with their usual arrogance, and, if the "father of all fathers" wept at the primate's misfortunes, it is not said that *they* were moved. The next day,—the day of public audience,—Foliot, Bishop of London, spoke first, and in no favourable terms, of Becket. Amongst other expressions he applied to him the words, *The wicked flee when no man pursueth*. "Brother!" said the Pope, "forbear!" The bishop answered, "I will forbear him." "I bid you forbear," replied Alexander, "not out of regard to his character, but your own." The Bishop was abashed, and sat down. Hilary of Chichester arose next, but having broken Priscian's head with some false Latinity, he was laughed down. The Archbishop of York spoke discreetly, applying to the Pope for his help; whilst the Bishop of Exeter briefly said that the cause could not be determined in the absence of the

primate, and demanded legates to judge between him and the king. The Earl of Arundel spoke last, and in English, for which he apologized. His speech was wise and conciliatory, and his request was that the Pope would mediate, command the archbishop to return, and send a legate to England to terminate all disputes. This was assented to. But when Foliot asked with "what powers were the legates to be sent," Alexander's answer was "with proper powers." The design was that they be empowered to decide without appeal. To this the Pope replied, "*That is my glory, which I will not give to another,*" adding other words, and particularly, that he would not send him to be judged by his enemies. And on this he proposed to the ambassadors to await Becket's arrival. Had they done so, they would have transgressed the orders of Henry. They, therefore, prepared to return, after the Earl of Arundel had dropped certain hints as to his master's being driven to join the anti-pope. On their departure the Pope's benediction was neither received nor asked for. They arrived in England about Christmas, 1164.

Meanwhile Becket had left St. Omer's, and was now at Soissons, where he was visited and comforted by Louis, who granted a liberal maintenance to him and his followers by an order on the royal treasury. After remaining here three days he proceeded to Sens, where the cardinals received him more coolly than the Pope. As before hinted at, they were most likely bought over by English gold. The next day a solemn assembly was called, and the primate was seated on the Pope's right hand. He spoke as Becket knew how to speak, and carried all before him, even the cardinals themselves. It was decided by acclamation, "that in the person of the Archbishop of Canterbury the Catholic Church should be succoured." Of the Constitutions of Clarendon, which had been produced and read, six were tolerated, *not as good but less evil*. These were the 2nd, 6th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 16th, and Becket was reprimanded for his weak assent, but the Pope at the same time declared that he had applied for pardon, and that indulgence had been granted. And thus was it at this time that the Pope in conclave sat in judgment on the laws and statutes of England!

The day following Becket, who knew the ground he had gained, determined to make it still more solid, and appearing before the

Pope and cardinals in private, he told them that he was ill at ease, and "that as he had ascended into the fold of Christ, not by the true door, not having been called by a canonical election, but obtruded into it by the terror of the secular power," he begged to resign into their hands his see, and, suiting the action to the word, he took off his ring, and delivered it into the hand of the pontiff. The scene may have been got up, but it is hardly likely, as we find the cardinals—such, at least, as might be supposed in Henry's interest⁶—again wavering. They declared that it seemed a fit opportunity to put an end to the strife, and that Becket might be now provided for elsewhere. But Alexander knew the craft of the Romish Church too well to grant this. It would be the ruin of the hierarchal power, and the Decretum of Gratian would be no more than a dead letter henceforth. The resignation was therefore declined, and Becket's conduct on the occasion extolled in the highest manner possible. At the same time the Pope consigned him to the care of the Abbot of Pontigny, a religious house in Burgundy, there to spend the time of his exile, adding, "that he, who had hitherto lived in affluence and delights, should now be taught by the instructions of poverty, the mother of religion, to be the comforter of the poor when he returned to his see: wherefore he committed him over to one of *the poor of Christ*, from whom he was to receive, not a sumptuous, but simple entertainment, such as became a banished man, and a champion of Christ." The Pope then blessed the habit of a Cistercian monk for him, and he entered into the discipline of the order.

It was now that Henry again forgot and lowered himself, giving way to a cruel and vindictive temper, fostered by feudal, in the stead of being softened by Christian, tenets. He confiscated all the Archbishop's estate; he commanded the bishop of the diocese to seize the revenues of any clergy who had followed him; correspondence with him was criminal; he was forbidden to be prayed for in the churches; the payment of Peter-

⁶ We find that these Cardinals were technically called *the Pharisees*. See the *Hist. Quadripart.*, referred to by Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 139; Henry, vol. iii. p. 255. The strongest evidence for supposing the present a got-up scene, is derived from Becket's answer to the letter of the English bishops, wherein he declares "that no injury was done to the Church by his election,—that it was lawfully and quietly made, and with the consent of those who had a right to elect him." This, certainly, is blowing hot and cold with the same breath.

pence was stopped. And thus far Henry might have acted conscientiously, but in what follows his rage had the mastery of him. For he banished all the primate's relations, friends, kinsfolk, and acquaintance. Old age found no mercy, infancy no exception. Their goods were all seized and their lands sold, and besides this, an oath was required of them that they would proceed to Pontigny to wear out the Archbishop with the sight of misery and woe. But, as is ever the case, none sees a brother made vile without being touched, and so, savage revenge is defeated. Monasteries and nunneries were opened to the helpless. The Pope absolved them from their oath, and many took refuge in Flanders. Nobles flocked to succour them. Not only the King of France, but the Queen of Sicily, were their friends. To such extent was pity showed towards the exiles, that it is even recorded that they lived more happily abroad, than they could have done at home !

A rupture now seemed inevitable between Henry and Louis, and the Empress Matilda applied to the Pope to endeavour to mediate between them. He persuaded the two kings to meet at Gisors, it being much to his interest to preserve unity in the then distracted state of the court of Rome. But the meeting was of no avail as regarded the reconciliation between Henry and Becket. Henry demanded obedience to the Constitutions of Clarendon. Louis still abided by his determination to protect the primate. They did not, however, come to open hostilities. Shortly after, a conference was proposed between Henry and the Pope, and to this the king assented, provided that Becket were not present. But Becket and Henry well knew the shrewdness of each other, and the consequence was that the primate intimated to the Pope that, unless he had an interpreter quick as himself, Henry would overreach him. The result was that the conference was broken off, with this haughty message from the pontiff: "That no man had a right to exclude any person from his presence, whose prerogative it had always been to succour the exiled and the oppressed of all nations against the violence of the wicked, and even against the rage of princes."

The year 1165 found Becket the inmate of Pontigny. It appears that he devoted himself to study and severer occupations. But his old predilection for the lessons he had learned at

Bologna, notwithstanding the kind hints he received from John of Salisbury⁷, chiefly occupied his attention. The result was a series of letters to Henry and the clergy, all in the same strain, magnifying, as he imagined, his office. Contained in these were admonition and commination as seemed expedient. Henry was too fully employed with the affairs of Wales to lend to them a very diligent ear, but they seem nevertheless to have galled a temper already irritated, insomuch so that serious thoughts were entertained of abandoning the party of Alexander, and of embracing that of the rival Pope, Pascal. As much, at least, as this is declared in the letter written by the king to the Archbishop of Cologne⁸, and is announced by the emperor in his letters patent. Lyttelton does not seem to think there was any direct falsehood told, but that the two ambassadors present at Wurtsburg (or, Wittenberg) took the oath spoken of "conditionally, in case that Alexander should refuse to give the king satisfaction with relation to Becket." The letter of Foliot, Bishop of London, may imply this. Most readers will, however, conclude, that there was some collusion and duplicity in the matter.

It was towards the end of this year that Alexander left Sens for Rome, where he was received with the warmest congratulations. On his arrival there, and in the hurry of other business, he did not forget the champion of the Church he had left at Pontigny. On the contrary, early in 1166⁹, he appointed him his legate in England, the diocese of York only being exempted from his jurisdiction. He at once sent a notification of it to England, and the packet, with letters to his suffragans, was delivered to Gilbert at the altar, who immediately made Henry acquainted with the contents, advising him, in case of need, to appeal to the Pope, or to legates whom he should appoint¹. Becket evidently

⁷ See Letter in British Magazine, vol. iii. p. 529.

⁸ See Lyttelton, where it is given at length, p. 415, vol. ii.

⁹ I am inclined with Berington to give this date to the transaction, but it is very uncertain. Henry puts it Oct. 22, 1166, vol. iii. p. 260. Lyttelton, on the Conversion of St. Paul, 1167, vol. ii. p. 443.

¹ See this point well put in the British Magazine, vol. iii. p. 149. Two points would be thus gained; 1st, "A respite from the obligation to immediate obedience, for, by the ecclesiastical law, any time short of a year from the delivery of sentence was allowed to the appellant for collecting his evidence; and, 2ndly, a chance of intercepting the second messenger who, after the term of the appeal had elapsed, would have to convey the repetition of the order."

had now determined, as soon as forms would admit, to excommunicate the king. It was preparatory to this that he had suspended the Bishop of Salisbury for admitting John of Oxford to the deanery, during the absence of the canons who were companions of his exile. All this only tended to irritate Henry the more, and it was upon this occasion,—having summoned his friends and retainers to meet him at Chinon, in Touraine,—that he told them how “Becket tore his body and his soul from him,” calling them all “traitors, who took no pains to rid him of the primate’s annoyance!” Henry evidently dreaded an interdict on his territories as well as excommunication on himself. Near as he was from throwing off the papal yoke, he was not above the superstitious thralldom of the time. He was checked for his intemperance by the Archbishop of Rouen; but the artful advice of the Bishop of Lisieux to him was to interpose an appeal, in his own name, to the Pope, thus agreeing with Foliot, Bishop of London. Little consistent was this with upholding the *ancient customs*,—little befitting the dignity of the crown. But Henry’s fears overcame his judgment, as Becket’s had done on a former occasion,—and in this they both showed that they were subject, like other men, to like infirmities. The advice was taken. Present necessity was yielded to. Two of his bishops were sent to Pontigny to notify his appeal to the primate.

There could be no doubt, from the very remarkable letters of Becket, in reply to the letter of his suffragans, as well as from his letter to Foliot, at whose suggestion he suspected their letter was written, what his intentions were. On the arrival of the bishop at Pontigny they found that he had departed for Soissons. In the spirit of the age, combined with his own, he had gone thither to watch before the shrine of St. Drauscio², who was thought to render his devotees invincible, as he did Robert de Montfort before his duel with Henry of Essex. If Becket were Saracen born by his mother’s side we need not wonder at this combination of strange superstition. Be it as it may, there he went. A night he spent in holy vigils at his shrine; a second before that of Gregory the Great; a third before the altar of the Virgin.

² See the Letter of John of Salisbury, to Bartholomew, Bp. of Exeter, in the British Magazine, vol. iv. p. 609, and the notice of the Church at Vezelay, p. 610, *note*. It is now just what it was at the time Becket visited it.

And thus strengthened he proceeded to Vezelay, there intending to pronounce his anathema against Henry, which he had done, but that intimation reached him from Louis that the king was dangerously ill. This was on Whit-Sunday, or, as some say, on Ascension Day. But although he did not excommunicate the king, he did not spare others. He ascended the pulpit and preached; and then the dreadful ban was pronounced by book, bell, and candle. The crosses were inverted; the bells tolled; the torches were extinguished. The excommunicated were John of Oxford, the Archdeacon of Poitiers, Hugh de St. Clare, Thomas Fitz Bernard, Ranulf de Broc, and, lastly, the chief justiciary, Richard de Luce, and Joceline de Baliol, *as the favourers of the king's tyranny, and the contrivers of those heretical pravities, the Constitutions of Clarendon*. He also named the king, spoke of the letters he had written, and the messengers he had sent to him, called on him to repent and to make satisfaction for the injustice he had offered to the Church,—or else the like sentence would fall on his own head.

Excommunication and interdict now stared Henry in the face; the latter, as regarded his territorial possessions in France, more dreadful even than the former. Superstitious as, perhaps, he was, indignation vexed him, and he sent orders to England to have the sea-coasts guarded with the strictest care, threatening the direst vengeance on clergyman or layman who should be the bearer of so fearful a sentence. And, besides this, he threatened the monks of the Cistercian rule, that the whole of them should be expelled from his dominions, if they harboured Becket any longer. But revenge of this sort rarely answers, and here it altogether failed. The French king sent a nobleman to escort him with three hundred men, saying, "Let him come and experience the benevolence of my people." He bade him also choose his own residence. The spot he fixed on was St. Columba, a convent without the walls of Sens. And thus the archbishop departed from Pontigny, about Martinmas, 1166, having resided there for nearly two years.

Meanwhile a change seems to have come over the court at Rome, and Becket's legatine power was crippled. The circumstances are not clearly known, but the chief agent would appear to be the Marquis of Montferrat, who promised Henry that, if

he would give him one of his daughters in marriage, he would procure from the Pope the deposition of Becket. English gold, it is likely, was circulated. Whether or not, amongst other ministers, the excommunicated John of Oxford was sent to, and received by, the Pope, and his ban taken off. He seems also to have taken a leaf out of Becket's book, but he resigned the deanery of Salisbury only to receive it again with absolution. But the great point gained was, that two cardinals, William of Pavia, and Otto, friends to Henry, should be sent legates *à latere* over all his French territories, and with full authority to hear and determine the cause of Becket. Stranger still! John Cumin and Radulf de Tamworth contrived to possess themselves of Becket's private letters. These, no doubt, were procured by dishonest means, and perhaps corroborate the boast of Henry, "that he had the Pope and the cardinals in his power." Whether or not, Becket was disconcerted, and is reported to have said, that Rome *was prostituted, like a harlot, for hire*. And shortly after, on writing to Rome, he expressed himself thus to one of his clergy, "That if these things were true, the Pope had undoubtedly strangled and suffocated, not him alone, but the whole English and Gallican Church." The real cause of Alexander's vacillation was that the Emperor Frederic was now in Lombardy and threatened Rome. The consequences to Becket and his exiled friends showed the worldly spirit of many who had thus far supported them³. They were deserted in their present distress, and had it not been for the King of France's hostility to England, and his personal antipathy to Henry, the contest would, in all likelihood, have been concluded. He declared, however, that the legates should not enter his kingdom; adding, that if "the Pope had sent them to take the crown from his head, he should not have been more troubled."

But here temporal affairs again wrought a change on the counsels of Rome. Alexander, in a pilgrim's habit, together

³ "An instance," says Lyttelton, "of inhumanity and baseness of mind, that would hardly be credible if we were not assured of it by the testimony of Becket himself, in the above-cited letter to his agent at Rome, whom he ordered to acquaint the Pope with it, that means might be found to prevent these unhappy persons from perishing soon with cold and hunger, as some of them, he said, had already perished."—Vol. ii. p. 445.

with his cardinals, had been obliged to take refuge in Beneventum, and Pascal had been received within the walls. The malaria, however, attacked the troops of the emperor with such violence, in the month of August, that he was obliged to retire incontinently. Besides this, a feudal quarrel had arisen between Louis and Henry, and the Earls of Boulogne and Flanders were up in arms against him. This turbulent state of affairs induced the Pope,—who had fruitlessly attempted through Becket to win over the Empress Matilda in her sickness⁴,—again to curtail the power of his legates. Becket likewise had been at work, and had recurred once more to his diplomatic craft, in which he was so consummate a master. He persuaded Alexander that Henry was only procrastinating, and that his real intent was, whenever the papacy became vacant, not to acknowledge the power of the hierarchy, unless the constitutions, laws, and customs of the realm were acceded to.

The legates, who had set out from Rome early in January, did not arrive at Montpellier till the end of October, 1167. The war, no doubt, and probably bribery and corruption, had stayed them on the way. The correspondence between them and Becket, at this time, is very remarkable. If it does not show the primate's sincerity, it at least declares his adroitness. But Henry was not to be deluded, and little likely was it that any good should be the result of double dealing. It was in vain that Becket was exhorted by the legates to moderation, and their meeting at Gisors was a mere farce. The fact is, that both parties were beguiled by the conduct of the Pope. In his desire to please them, he had represented the commission "in his letter to the king as a commission to judge and determinê, but in his letter to the archbishop as a commission to negotiate a reconciliation. The truth seems to have been that the Pope had given the legates a commission to act as judges, but had given them also secret instructions to act only as mediators⁵." It appears that Henry on this occasion, however disappointed, was more willing to have made concessions than Becket. Had any laws been made in his own time inconsistent with the Church, he

⁴ She died about this time.

⁵ This is the conclusion of the historian Henry. See vol. iii. p. 262, and it seems liable to the fewest objections.

said, that he was willing they should be abolished. He would abide, he said, by the legates' judgment, "*if they would render to him, what even the lowest of men had a right to demand from them, justice.*" Finding all of no avail, he retired in disgust, declaring publicly, "*That he wished his eyes might never more see the face of a cardinal!*" His wrath, however, seems to have moderated before they came to take leave, for he then requested their assistance and intercession with the Pope *to rid him of Becket*. It should be remarked, in passing, that however haughty the conduct of Becket on this occasion may appear, he declared to the legates, and, by his letters, to the Pope, certain home truths. All at Rome was venal⁶, and the Church in England met but with little justice. There and in Normandy there were no less than seven bishoprics not filled up, and the proceeds of the sees were *res fiscali*. Evenhanded justice must admit the high ground which the primate took and maintained.

Whatever the inclinations of Otto may have been, Henry at this time obtained protection from the Pope against what he knew would be the rage of Becket. Together with the bishops he put his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See till the feast of St. Martin in the following year. The consequence was, that Becket received intimation forbidding him to put the kingdom under an interdict, or to excommunicate any one, till the Pope's pleasure was known. In the Pope's mandate he was also exhorted once more to moderation, and was counselled to bear his persecution patiently. His holiness, it is clear, felt for Becket, and looked on him as the Church's champion; but he felt for himself also, and bethought him of his own insecurity. It is difficult to unravel the complicated statements appertaining to the legates' presence at this time in France, but it seems pretty clear that they were not recalled till the autumn of the year 1168, and that previous to their recall an attempt had been made, in the midsummer of that year, by the Earl of Flanders, to bring Henry and Becket together. This attempt proved fruitless owing

⁶ See Jewel's Defence of the Apology, Part vi. vol. vi. 521. Ed. Jelf, where the remarkable words of Baptista Mantuanus are given :—

"Venalia nobis

Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,

Ignis, thura, preces, cœlum est venale, Deusque."

to the return of some messengers of Henry from Beneventum, who brought a letter from the Pope, in which Becket's spiritual power over England was superseded *till that prelate had recovered the royal favour.*

The question then arises, was Henry a party to this attempt. It is thought that he was, and that an attempt had been made by the legates, instructed by the Pope, to get Becket to resign his archbishopric on condition the king would renounce the customs. This, however, he firmly and resolutely declined. The reasons for supposing that Henry was more inclined to reconciliation, previous to the arrival of his ministers from Beneventum, are to be drawn from the following conversation prior to the legates' return. I give it from Lord Lyttelton⁷. "A little before their departure, Cardinal Otto, in taking leave of the king, made use of that occasion to exhort him to a speedy reconciliation with Becket. He replied, 'that from his affection to the Pope and to them, he would consent to let the archbishop return in peace to his see, and *take care of his Church and his own business.*' This (whatever limitation he might mean to annex to it by the concluding words) was certainly a great condescension, and such as it is probable he would not *then* have been brought to, if he had not trusted that Becket would refuse to return without many other conditions. After a long dispute with the cardinal about the royal customs, he said, 'that he and his children would be content with those alone, which it should be proved that his ancestors had enjoyed, by the oaths of a hundred men of England, a hundred men of Normandy, a hundred of Anjou, and of his other dominions. But, if this proposition did not please the archbishop, he was ready to stand to the arbitration of three English bishops, and of three who belonged to his territories on the Continent, namely, Rouen, Baieux, and Mans. Or, in case that even this should not be thought sufficient, he would submit to the judgment of the Pope, with this reserve only, that his act should not prejudice the rights of his heirs.'"

It will be observed that the dates in this statement should be inverted; but, let it be taken for as much as it is worth, and the *animus* of Henry and the Pope will, I think, be evidently in

⁷ Vol. ii. p. 481.

favour of reconciliation at this time. But there was a desire to overreach on both sides, and each severally availed himself of fortunate occasions, as Henry seems to have done, in the present instance, on the arrival of his ministers from Beneventum. Interest was uppermost, and not peace !

Meanwhile Henry and Louis were again all but at war. The truce of the last year was to expire at Easter. A treaty of peace was again proposed by the Earls of Flanders and Champagne. But it was difficult to bring about. Henry's discontented barons had no notion of being ruled, and they were received and fostered by the French king. Matters of uneasiness arose, and continued throughout the year, and it was not until January 6, 1169, that the two kings could be brought together, when a peace was concluded at Montmirail on the Maine. It was said that the Earl of Champagne and Henry were contending which should outwit the other. Be this as it may, a peace was concluded. The young princes did homage for their respective fiefs, and Henry himself for Normandy.

But Montmirail was to witness another scene. The priors of Montdieu and St. Peter's Vale, with Bernard de Corillo, monk of Grammont, had brought Becket here, and had schooled him, as Louis had also done, to humble himself before his sovereign. Accordingly the primate threw himself at his feet, saying, "I submit myself to the mercy of God and the king, to the honour of God and the king." At the same time that Henry raised the primate from his knees, he did not allow himself to be outwitted. The both were practised diplomatists, and the king interpreted the phrase, *to the honour of God*, as he knew it was interpreted by a scholar of Gratian and in the Decretals. And it is clear that the king was right, for nothing further could be elicited from Becket in a long conference, during which his arrogance was reproved by his own friends and by the French king, than that he submitted to Henry's judgment, *saving his order*, and that he would do what he could without *prejudice to the honour of God*. The words of Henry to Louis on this occasion are remarkable. "My liege, attend, if you please ; whatsoever he dislikes, he says is against *the honour of God* ; and thus he would dispossess me of all my rights. But that I may not in any thing seem to desire unreasonably to oppose him, *or the honour of God*, this is my

offer. There have been many kings of England before me ; some who have had more power than I, and others who had less. There have been before him many archbishops of Canterbury, great and holy men. *What therefore the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did for the least of mine, let him do for me, and I shall be satisfied*.” To the question of Louis, “ *Would you be greater or wiser than all those holy men ?*” Becket’s reply was, “ *That had they in all things made the stand they ought to have done, he should not now have been passing this fiery ordeal.*” Upon this his friends drew him away, entreating him to drop the obnoxious expression. But Becket was firm. What the world called arrogance insurmountable, and dogged obstinacy, was with him honesty of purpose and devout resolution. It is further related that the King of France did not visit him, or send to him from his table, the night he remained at Montmirail ; and that on the next day he returned to Sens, impressed with the idea that those who would faithfully perform their duties must be contented to lose their friends. And thus, contemplating the chances of expulsion from France⁸, they went on their way sorrowing. But Louis, on second thoughts, influenced perhaps by no love to Henry of England, came to the conclusion that Becket had maintained his position, and, under this impression, sent for him to his lodgings. He found him dispirited and gloomy, but, after a silence of some time, he threw himself at the primate’s feet, declaring “how blind he had been in giving him wrong advice, and that hereafter he would never forsake him.” The archbishop blessed him, and they parted.

At the beginning of this year another interview was brought about ; but it proved equally unavailing. Henry and Becket well knew each other, and each abided by his purpose—the one to the Constitutions of Clarendon, the other to the doctrine of the Decretals. It was on this occasion that a bull from the Pope was delivered to Henry, declaring that, if he was not reconciled to the

⁸ See Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 503.

⁹ Berington relates that on their journey Becket had said to his attendants : “They say that down the Saone, and on the side of Provence, the inhabitants are benevolent and liberal. To them we will go on foot, and when they shall see how wretched we are, perhaps they may pity us, and give us bread, till the Lord shall send us better times.”—p. 208. The authority is not quoted.

archbishop before Lent 1169, he should restore him to his full spiritual authority over him and his kingdom. "For he ought not to imagine, either that the Lord, who now slept, might not be awakened, or that the sword of St. Peter was so consumed with rust, as that it could not be drawn, and exercise a proper vengeance." Little pleased was Henry likely to be with words of this sort; and the reply of Louis, on Henry's representing to him his change of conduct towards Becket after the interview at Montmirail, only irritated him the more. "Go tell your king, that if he will not relinquish certain ancient customs, which some deem contrary to the law of God, because they appertain to his royal dignity; neither will I surrender the hereditary privilege of my crown, which has ever protected the unfortunate, and those most who suffer in the cause of justice."

And Lent arrived, and once more Becket was Legate of the Apostolical See. Neither was he a man to slacken his hand. On the contrary, while acquainting Alexander with his intention, he excommunicated Foliot, Bishop of London, Joceline, Bishop of Salisbury,—the chief members of the king's household,—Lucy, Great Justiciary, other great men of the kingdom, and the Chaplains of the Court; insomuch that Henry was in the midst of excommunicated persons, and had scarce one, as far as Rome's power went, to wish him God speed! The excommunication of Foliot seems to have weighed more with him than any thing else, for he wrote to the Pope, declaring that he resented the sentence "*no less than if Becket had vomited out his poison on his own person.*" All this time Becket was resolute and unmoved, and ready, with Alexander's help, to place the kingdom under interdict. This, it seems, the Pope drew back from, and Becket's notions of obedience to his ecclesiastical superior on this occasion are very equivocal, for he neither suspended the general sentences at Alexander's request, nor yet the particular one passed on the Pope's old and tried friend, the Bishop of Salisbury. Foliot, on the present emergency, does not appear to have acted with his usual wisdom. The plea that the Archbishop of Canterbury had no jurisdiction over the see of London was frivolous.

Meanwhile the old expedient, proposed by William of Pavia, of translating Becket to a foreign see, was again mooted by Henry's ambassadors at Beneventum. They made great offers in their

sovereign's name—promised to procure Alexander peace with the emperor and with the Roman nobility—offered a present of 10,000 marks—assured the Pontiff that he should present to Canterbury and all the other vacant sees. Besides this, he tampered with Lombardy, and secured the interests of the King of Sicily, on whose protection, next to that of Louis, the Pope mainly depended. All, however, was in vain, for Alexander knew the *animus* of Becket, and that he would rather have resigned his life than the primacy. All that Henry's ministers could obtain was, that two nuncios should be sent into Normandy to negotiate, if they might, a peace between the king and the archbishop. These were Vivian and Gratian. They waited on the king at Domfront in Normandy, August 23rd, 1169. But their instructions were so cautiously drawn up, and the circumstantialia of the *peace*¹⁰ to be concluded so invidious, that, during the discussion upon the Pontiff's letters, Henry gave way to one of those bursts of temper not unusual with him, declaring that, if the Pontiff would not listen to his requests, "By God's eyes, I'll do something else!" "Sire," replied Gratian, "do not threaten. We fear no threats; for we come from a court that has been said to give the law to emperors and to kings."

Eight days after this they met at Baieux, and then Henry demanded the absolution of his servants, which not being assented to, he mounted his horse, declaring that no man living should speak to him more of Becket's return to Canterbury. But knowing the impetuous nature of Henry, the nuncios thought it wise to concede the point, and the negotiation was renewed afresh, only again to be broken off, though his bishops told the king that they must render obedience to the mandates of Rome. Upon this, Henry again burst out, "Let them do their worst, and interdict the kingdom; I who can take a strong castle every day in the year can arrest an ecclesiastic." Again the nuncios relaxed, and promised that Nigel de Sackville, Thomas Fitz Bernard, and the Archdeacon of Canterbury should be absolved the next day, and that one of them would proceed to England, and absolve the ex-

¹⁰ "I use the word *peace*," says Lyttelton, "because it is used in Alexander's letters, and those written by Becket concerning this affair, as if he and the king, his master, had been two independent potentates at war with each other."—Vol. ii. p. 516.

communicated there, provided the king would receive the archbishop in peace, and restore his see *to the honour of God, and of the Church, and to the honour of the king, and of his children*. The banished friends of the archbishop were also to be restored. It is said that the king made some alteration in the agreement, inserting "*heirs*" in the place of "*children*," and then substituting *saving the dignity of his kingdom* for *to the honour of his heirs*; and that, upon this, the nuncios again left him, and went to Caen. Various discussions succeeded, certain demands were waved on Henry's part, and on Becket's; by the one, the accounts of the chancellorship, by the other, the reparation of damages. But all was in vain. New bones of contention turned up, and thus Michaelmas arrived, when the commission of the nuncios expired. They notified that the absolutions, being only conditional, were void. On this Gratian retired, and Vivian was not long in following him.

But scarcely had the latter departed before Henry heard that the Bishop of Sens had joined Gratian, and that they were on their way to Rome. All his fears were again roused as to personal excommunication, and interdict on his territories. On this he sent a messenger after Vivian, entreating him to renew the negotiation. Vivian consented, much against the will of Becket, who declared, "that the king, for whose sake the negotiation was renewed, might obey the legate as he pleased, but that he would not acknowledge an authority which had now expired." Still Becket did not judge it expedient to refuse Vivian's request, that he should attend an interview of the Kings of France and England at St. Denys, November 15th, 1169¹. He did not, however, appear in person², but only came so nigh as to Paris, and thence sent his conditions, as warily worded as were the concessions of Henry in reply. The latter induced Vivian to declare that he had broken his word, was captious and insincere, and he declined to have any thing further to do in the matter.

Once more a new petition was delivered to the king from Becket

¹ There is a mistake in Lyttelton's Hist. as to this date, but it is evidently on the printer's side: "about the middle of November this year, eleven hundred and sixty-eight."—See vol. ii. p. 522.

² Berjngton says, "the king, passing by Montmartre, was visited by Becket." p. 214. This would seem to be an error; but after all there is some difficulty here, and I would not speak positively.

at Montmartre, by the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Sens. He requested only that the king would grant to him "what had been taken from him, and that he would then pay to him all that an archbishop owed to his prince." This was begging the whole question at issue:—What was it that an archbishop owed to his prince! Even yet matters were attempted to be brought to a successful termination; but Henry eventually refused to give the *kiss of peace*, because, he said, he had sworn in his anger, that he never would give it to Becket, though he declared that he bore no rancour, neither would retain any rancour against him. They knew each other, and the breach was as wide as ever.

The state of the king's mind, however, was restless, and his fears of an interdict waxed stronger and stronger. Under this impression he was unwise enough once more to send after Vivian, and to offer a bribe. In Northumberland's words, on a different occasion ³:—

"Come, come, go in with me: 'tis with my mind,
As with the tide swell'd up unto its height,
That makes a still-stand, running neither way:
Fain would I go to meet the archbishop,
But many thousand reasons hold me back."

This the nuncio indignantly returned, complaining, "that after he had laboured so much in his service, and had lost for him the favour of many and great persons, Henry should endeavour to render him infamous, as being corrupted with bribes. He, moreover, counselled Henry, for the last time, to give the *kiss of peace*, and to make restoration, adding that if he did not, *repentance would come too late*. Words like these from one who had not shown himself unfriendly, only roused Henry's fears the more, and the consequence was that he sent over to England his royal injunctions, forbidding all intercourse with his subjects, the Pope, or the archbishop. It is not to be denied that they are severe—the 6th and 7th particularly ⁴,—but the superstitious dread of the Pontiff

³ 2nd Part, Henry IV. Act ii. sc. iii.

⁴ They are as follows: 6th, "If any bishops, clergymen, abbots, or laymen shall obey the sentence of interdict, let them be instantly banished the realm, and all their kindred, and not suffered to carry with them any of their goods and chattels." 7th, "The goods and chattels of all those who favour the Pope or the Archbishop,

is to be borne in mind. By the laity the oath to observe them was taken generally; but as generally refused by the clergy, headed by the Bishops of Winchester, Exeter, Chester, and Norwich. The latter excommunicated the Earl of Chester, according to Becket's instructions, and descending from the rood-loft, laid his pastoral staff on the high altar with these words: "Now let me see who will dare sacrilegiously to stretch out their hands against the lands or goods of the Church." The sacrifices made by these prelates, who severally (Winchester excepted) retired to the cloister, deserves our admiration. At least, they were faithful to their trust, even though the principle maintained were false. As regards the laity they were absolved from their oath by letters which the primate got securely conveyed to England. It does not appear whether many or few availed themselves of the dispensation. Whilst all this was passing, Henry's messengers and agents were still at work at the papal court, and certain general terms were proposed to Becket "that each of them should perform what he owed to the other," but nothing seems to have come of it.

But the great project which Henry had in view at this time he anticipated would be attended with difficulty—the coronation, that is, of his son. This was an act of precaution which belongs to the history of the time. It is evident he had long had it in view; for on the death of Theobald, fearing as to Becket's election, he had obtained a bull from the Pope to the intent the young prince should be crowned by what bishop he pleased. But this was long ago, and the bull, then granted, was but a dead letter. It seems to have been a master-stroke of policy that at the present time he should have procured another. He did, however, and it empowered the Archbishop of York to perform the ceremony. Yet, odd as it may appear, Becket obtained a counter-bull restricting that privilege to the see of Canterbury. Strange inconsistency in that court so well schooled in worldly wisdom! The fact, nevertheless, is so. The former letter was received by Henry, on the return of Richard Barre and the Archdeacon of Llandaff, about the latter end of February, and Becket's was dated the 25th of that month, so that the one was written within a few

and all their possessions, and the possessions of all who belong to them, of whatsoever degree, order, sex, or condition they may be, shall be seized and confiscated into the hands of the king."—Lytelton, vol. ii. p. 528.

weeks of the other. But it was unavailing, and the prohibition defeated. The coronation took place June 15th, 1170⁵.

To Becket this was the bitterest of disappointments, and his letters at the time to the Pope and cardinals show how indignation vexed him. The absolution also of the Bishops of Salisbury and London was gall and wormwood to him, the more so, as the Pope had styled the latter *a religious, learned, prudent, and discreet man*. It is upon this occasion that the primate thus expressed himself in a letter to his friends, Cardinals Albert and Gratian. "Satan," he said, "was let loose again to the destruction of the Church: Barabbas was freed, and Christ was crucified a second time; and that St. Peter himself, if he was upon earth, could not have power to absolve such impenitent sinners!" Thus spake the primate in his wrath; and if the former words be not blasphemous, it is not easy to say what is!

"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!"

The Princess Margaret's not being crowned at the same time with the young Henry, gave umbrage to the French king, who took up arms and attacked the Norman frontier. Henry was obliged to hasten back again from England, either to quell the invasion or to pacify Louis. He succeeded in the latter step, and an interview was brought about, and peace renewed, in a meadow near Frettevalle, upon the borders of Touraine, in the district of Chartres.

Meanwhile Becket was still irritated by advice from a secret correspondent about the king—one of those miscreants that dog a court and sow dissension. The information given him was, that all Henry's professions as to reconciliation was but deceit. The moment he became acquainted with this, he wrote letters to England, putting the realm under an interdict. But they were not delivered.

Whilst the primate was thus threatening, Henry held several

⁵ See Lyttelton's remarks. He concludes by observing: "As this was the first since the union of the Heptarchy, it was also the last coronation of a son during the life of his father, in the kingdom of England. We also find that the practice was omitted in France after Philip Augustus; a more settled principle of an hereditary right to the crown, in a lineal course of descent, having prevailed from that time in both these nations, which made such a precaution unnecessary to secure the succession."—Vol. ii. p. 537.

conferences with the Papal nuncios, it would seem with a real wish for reconciliation, could we conceive it possible after what had passed. The Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nevers were personally anxious to bring it about, notwithstanding the dissuasive letters of Becket, who spoke of his sovereign as "a monster, changeable as Proteus, whose wiles they should resist, till he resumed his ancient shape ;" adding, "if it is not your own fault, you will from that time be a *God to Pharaoh*." But the legates were aware that Henry knew their secret instructions, and in fact they had come to an agreement with him on all points, except the *kiss of peace*, which Henry proposed should be given by the young prince, in consideration of the oath he had taken. To this Becket demurred, saying, "it was a form established among all nations, and in all religions, without which peace was no where confirmed ; that if, instead of receiving it from the king, he received it from his son, it might be said in the world that he was only restored to the prince's favour, not the king's ; which if the vulgar should hear, it would give them an occasion to reflect on the peace." This offended Henry grievously. To help matters to a conclusion, the Pope had absolved him of his oath, but like his grandfather, Henry I., who declined to be absolved by Calixtus II., he too disdained to descend to such casuistry. Nevertheless considering what might be the result of an interdict in his foreign territories, even though he might not have to fear for England, he was induced to succumb, and so promised to give the *kiss of peace*, not however in the King of France's dominions, but in his own, for his reply to the legates was, "In my own territories I will kiss him : nay, his very hands and his feet, a thousand times ; let him only defer it now, that it may appear to be done out of my grace and good will, and not by constraint." This reads but like special pleading, and is casuistical enough. But so it was ; and a reconciliation was brought about, July 22, 1170, at the spot before-mentioned as the meeting-place of the two kings. Some report that it was called the Traitor's Field⁶, and the name was ominous !

" *Male sarta*
Gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur."—

Hor. i. Epist. iii. 31.

⁶ The authority for this is Gervase.—See Tindal's *Rapin*. Vol. i. p. 232. *Note*.

Two days had been taken up in settling the differences of the rival kings, but on the morning of the third the King of England and Becket entered the meadow. It was thronged with the attendants of both. No sooner did the king perceive the archbishop approaching than he set spurs to his horse, and galloped to meet him with head uncovered. The primate intended to have spoken first, but he was prevented. The king entered into familiar conversation with his old friend, and, to outward appearance, there was no lack of cordiality. Presently Henry and Becket withdrew from those around them, and the tenor of their subsequent remarks is altogether drawn from the account he forwarded to the Pope. He declared that the king "had not so much as presumed to mention the royal customs, which he was used to assert so pertinaciously. He exacted no oath, but promised the restoration of all that had been taken from the Church of Canterbury, and not only that, but peace and a safe return to all, and *the kiss* to me, if I should absolutely insist upon it." This, it will be observed, is contrary to the report of the king, and at variance with his after conduct. Besides this, he spoke of "the grievous wrong done to his see by the coronation of the young king at the house of the Archbishop of York," intimating that "the king's consecration, like other sacraments⁷, drew all its validity from the right of the person administering to do the office." As Becket continued to press the pristine dignity of his Church, he reports that Henry expressed his belief that "it was the most noble of all the Western Churches, that he had no desire to deprive it of its rights, that it should have its redress on this point," and that he concluded with these remarkable words: "*But to those who have hitherto betrayed both you and me, I will, by the blessing of God, make such an answer, as the deserts of traitors require.*" What Becket understood by these words is not clear, but he at once sprang from his horse, and threw himself at the king's feet. Henry bid him remount, himself holding the stirrup to assist him. Afterwards, with tears in his eyes, he said:

⁷ "Sacramental ordinances" were an expression more to be tolerated. At the same time one would be sorry to join in the sceptical sentence of Hume: "There prevailed in that age an opinion, which was akin to its other superstitions, that the royal unction was essential to the exercise of royal power."—Vol. i. p. 413. Unblessed are sovereign and people without an unction from above!

“ My lord archbishop, what occasion is there for many words? let us now mutually restore to each other our former affection, and do one another all the good we can, entirely forgetting the late discord between us. But I desire that you would honour me in the presence of those who are looking upon us at a distance.” He then returned to the assembly, and casting his eyes on certain of Becket’s enemies, he said aloud, “ If, when I find the archbishop full of all good dispositions to me, I were not reciprocally good to him, I should be the worst of men, and prove the evil that is spoken of me to be true. Nor can I think any counsel more honourable or useful to me, than that I should endeavour to go before him in kindness, and excel him in charity, as well as in benefits.” These, it must be confessed, are remarkable words, and must have been heard by many; but the rest of the conversation, we must bear in mind, was *apart from the company*, and rests only on the authority of the archbishop.

Presently after this Henry sent his bishops to the primate, who was in the distance, desiring him to state his petition in the face of the assembly. They counselled him to submit his case to the king,—some of them, at least,—but he rejected their advice, as that of Scribes and Pharisees. He then took counsel with the Archbishop of Sens and the companions of his exile, and the determination they arrived at was, to make no submission whatever, but to abide by the rights of the see of Canterbury. The petition he did not present in person, neither was it worded as had been settled between the king and the Pope. It was much like to the one that Henry had rejected the year before at Montmartre, and on those grounds he might have rejected it now. But the expressions he had made use of were all of an amicable tendency, and it seems as though he did not wish to break afresh with the friend of his youth. His actions declared thus much. Different as the petition was, he said, “ I agree to all, and the primate and his friends I again receive into favour.”

After the meeting was over, Becket and the king continued to converse till late in the evening. It was then agreed that the archbishop should visit Henry in Normandy, prior to his going over to England. Meanwhile he was to take leave of Louis and his other benefactors. Just as he was going away, in the presence of Henry and the whole court, the Bishop of Lisieux

exhorted him, "as the king had now received his friends into favour, he should in like manner receive all the servants of the king who were present there." To this reasonable proposal the primate returned an artful and evasive answer, and one that showed how secret enmity was rankling in his heart. "The circumstances," he said, "were not the same, some had been excommunicated by this bishop, some by that; others again by the Pope, and for divers offences." He concluded by saying that "he was to consult with the king," but that "if any one of them (which he prayed might not happen) should fail of reconciliation and peace, he must impute it to himself not to him." Henry, fearing lest further altercation should arise, *drew off the archbishop*. He craved his benediction, and sent him home with honour.

It was two months before they met again. In the interval Henry had a severe illness, and was brought to death's door. Thinking his end was nigh, he desired to be buried in the monastery of Grammont, at *the feet of one of their abbots*. Recovering, he fulfilled a vow that he had made, and performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of *St. Mary of Roque-Madour in the Quercy*. In the meanwhile, it is not to be supposed that Becket was idle. His declining to clear Henry's friends showed that the fire was burning within him. And by this time he had received letters from the Pope, suspending all the prelates who had assisted at the coronation of the young prince. In them his Holiness accused them of "permitting him to leave out the usual oath for the protection of the Church, and of taking one themselves to maintain the Constitutions of Clarendon." In particular, as regards the Bishops of London and Salisbury, "he declared that they had made an ungrateful return for the sentence he had taken off from them, and that he therefore excommunicated them afresh." The Bishop of Rochester he permitted Becket to proceed against as he pleased, "because that prelate, as vicar to the Archbishop of Canterbury, ought to have been particularly careful of supporting his rights." These letters were dated September, 1170. The charge as to the coronation oath was altogether groundless, as Becket must soon have known on inquiry, nevertheless he said in reply, that the Pope's letters "*were undoubtedly dictated by the Holy Ghost, and corrected the king's enormities with an authority becoming the successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ.*"

At the present moment Becket saw that it would be imprudent to use the letters spoken of, and he therefore wrote to the Pope, requesting him to transmit fresh ones, which, omitting other points, should contain the suspension of the Archbishop of York, and the other bishops, for the injury done to the rights of the see of Canterbury. Touching the Bishops of London and Salisbury, he requested a *discretionary* power; but the removal of the sentence from the Archbishop of York was to be vested in the Pope only, inasmuch as he was *the incendiary and the head of all these wicked persons*. Besides this he asked the same power for himself, as had been granted to the Archbishop of Rouen, and the Bishop of Nevers, *or even a greater*, (permission, that is, to excommunicate his sovereign, and to lay his dominion under interdict,) *because the more potent and the more fierce that prince is, the stronger chain and the harder stick will be necessary to bind and keep him in order*. This latter stretch of power does not appear to have been granted.

Previous to this Becket had sent his messengers to England with letters from Henry to his son. The tenor of them is not recorded with sufficient clearness, though it was said that they contained orders "that all their estates and possessions should be restored to the archbishop and the other exiles^s." Be it as it may, they were coldly received. And it was likely they would be, inasmuch as their return implied the dispossession of intruders; nay, Ranulph de Broc was reported to have said, "*that Becket should not eat a whole loaf in England before he took away his life*." On these, and other like grounds, his friends dissuaded Becket from returning till he was sure that the king was thoroughly reconciled to him. But here again his undaunted spirit displayed itself, and he was the readier to start and to confront the danger, for he wrote to Henry, saying, "By your grace and permission I will now return to my Church, *perhaps to perish for her*, unless your piety deigns to afford me a further and a speedy consolation. But, *whether I live or die, yours I am, and will be, in the Lord; and whatever becomes of me and mine, may God bless you, and your children!*" He likewise addressed a private letter to the Pope, in which he stated, that whether his journey

^s See Henry. Vol. iii p. 273.

to England would be "to peace, or to punishment, he was doubtful;" and, at the same time, strange as the expression may appear, he "commended his soul to the Pontiff."

Before answers arrived to the former letters mentioned, as written to the Pope, Becket waited on the king at Tours, some two months after the reconciliation at Frettevalle. But his reception was a cool one—at least, it was not cordial—neither did Henry, though in his own dominions, give the promised *kiss of peace*. At this time Henry had appointed to meet the Earl of Blois, on the borders of Touraine; and the two set out together. They, however, almost fell out on the way, each reproaching the other. Nevertheless, Becket acted as a sort of mediator between the earl and the king, and there was no open breach. Henry even promised full restitution; but said, "That before he performed it, he would have him return into England, that he might see how he would behave himself in the affairs of the kingdom." This, no doubt, was unlooked for by Becket, and he and the king did not return together. But within a few days they had a second interview at Chaumont, a town near Blois; and, on this occasion, as at Frettevalle, there seemed a heartiness, on Henry's part, which would have touched one of softer mould than Becket. In familiar discourse, such as should be when old friends meet, Henry exclaimed, "Oh! my lord, why will you not return? I then should put every thing into your hands!" But the primate misinterpreted his old master; and, in a letter to one of his correspondents, he said that it reminded him of the devil's speech to our Saviour: "And this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me!" With such thoughts as these uppermost, there could be little chance of concord! About the end of October the primate returned to Sens, purposing to see Henry at Rouen, on his way to England. They met no more!

Answers from the Pope were now received, and in accordance with Becket's request. But, besides this, the Pope, having heard that the agreement of July was not ratified, wrote to his legates, the Archbishops of Rouen and Sens, where Becket now was, ordering them, within twenty days after the receipt of this letter, (dated October 9,) to admonish Henry *in effect to accomplish the peace he had made only in words*. If he refused to do this within thirty days, his foreign dominions were to be put

under an interdict. Before, however, the time was expired, the treaty, in its principal points, was executed.

And, looking to matters as they now stood, there is reason to think that if Becket had proceeded temperately, he had proceeded more wisely. The Pope evidently doubted his discretion, for his grants were less than the primate's demand. Himself, too, had spoken in a letter to the Pontiff of moderation; but he did not exercise it, nor follow the advice of two of his friends in the College of Cardinals, who counselled him "to exercise mercy, rather than judgment, towards those who had sinned against him; and to endeavour to instruct the king in the spirit of lenity, and recover his favour." But it was not with such a spirit that he purposed to return to England. Peace was not in his thoughts; and his heart was bent upon excommunication. He may have thought it a duty to proceed as he did, and to court danger in defence of the hierarchy. With a like impression he told Louis, on taking leave, *that he was going to England to play for his head.*

Before he set out it was his desire again to have an interview with Henry, as agreed upon, at Rouen. But the king wrote him word that he was constrained to depart for Auvergne to resist an attempt which, report said, Louis intended to make on that province. Instead also of the Archbishop of Rouen, John of Oxford, whom he looked upon as his bitterest enemy, was appointed to accompany him to England. By him he signified to the young king, "that he would have Becket enjoy all his possessions peaceably and honourably; and if, in any particulars relating to him less than ought to have been done had been performed, that prince should cause it to be amended." To add to the primate's humiliation, no money was sent him to defray his expenses, and pay his debts; but the Archbishop of Rouen lent him 300*l.* in his distress. He then went to Whitsand, in Flanders, and stayed there some days for a favourable wind. It was during this interval that he was warned by the Earl of Boulogne "to take care of himself; for there were persons waiting for him in those parts of England, where it was thought he would land, with an intention to murder, or at least to arrest him." The answer became the man, whose heart was always enlarged as difficulties increased, and whose spirit rose under pressure. "He would return," he said, "to his flock, if he were certain to

be torn limb from limb; and all that he requested was, that he might be carried dead to his Church, if he were not permitted to reach it alive."

But mark how human nature, at its best estate, has its noblest endeavours and highest aspirations dashed with the meaner intermixture of earth! Becket, aware that if his life was not attempted, his baggage would be searched, and his letters intercepted, hits upon an expedient to get them conveyed, which has more of Roman craft in it than open honesty. There was one Idonea, a nun,—(if that were a real name, and not assumed⁹),—whose former manner of life would appear, from the letter still extant, not to have been so strict as it ought to have been. This poor woman he determined to make use of, and win her over to deliver the letter he had for the Archbishop of York, and which contained his sentence from the Pope; and this he did by setting before her the examples of Judith, Esther, and those women, who, when the Apostles forsook their Lord, followed Him to the cross, and to His sepulchre. Who can ever forget the lines—

" Stabat mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lachrymosa
Quà pendebat Filius!"

At that time they may not have been written; but the primate was alive to the purport of such exhortations; and the child of a Saracen mother knew well what would work upon the feelings of a penitent woman! His pastoral exhortation, as given by the historian¹, from the original letter, concludes thus: "A great reward, my daughter, is proposed to your labour, *the remission of your sins*, the unfading fruit, and crown of glory, which the *blessed sinners*, Mary Magdalene and Mary the Egyptian, at last received from our Lord Jesus Christ; the stains of all their former lives being wiped out. *The mistress of mercy* will assist you, and ask her Son, God and man, whom she brought forth for the salvation of the world, to be the leader, companion, and protector of your journey. And may He, who, breaking the gates

⁹ The term "*Idonea*" leads to this surmise. The superscription of the letter is, "*Thomas Cant. Arch. Dilectæ filiæ suæ Idoneæ.*" Lyttelton gives it at length in the Appendix to his Third Book. Vol. iv. p. 252.

¹ Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 584.

of hell, crushed the power of the devils, and restrained their licentiousness, hold the hands of the wicked, that they may not be able to do you any hurt! Farewell, *spouse of Christ*, and think that He is always present with you!" The Jesuits of a later day were not wiser than Becket in fitting each one to his proper work! And the nun performed it well. To the archbishop she delivered the letter, as commanded²; and it appears that the Bishops of London and Salisbury received their sentence about the same time. There is, however, a little difficulty in arriving at the exact period.

The ground thus broke, and with a fair wind, Becket crossed the Channel on the 1st of December, and when the ship arrived in Sandwich harbour, the Sheriff of Kent, Reginald de Warenne, and Ranulph de Broc, came down armed to the shore. They were withstood in the king's name by John of Oxford. On the present occasion he certainly showed himself a friend to Becket, and neither was violence offered to the person of Becket, nor a search as he anticipated made. But of the Archdeacon of Sens, who had followed in the archbishop's train, they demanded an oath of allegiance to King Henry and his son. This the primate forbade them to take, and for this reason, as he told the Pope, "that there was not in the oath any exception expressed in favour of the papal authority or any other." Better was it for the people to be under the archbishop than under the intruder who usurped his rights; and as it has been ever experienced, there are no masters more liberal than the clergy, no landlords more considerate of their tenantry. *Vox populi, vox Dei*, was on this occasion true. The people were all on the primate's side, and no farther opposition was made. The Archdeacon of Sens passed on, and the offended nobles returned to the prelate under sentence, whom they had left at Dover.

The primate then proceeded on his way to Canterbury. The joy of the people was no more to be disguised than their way of expressing it is to be vindicated. As on that holy day, Palm

² The exact order runs thus: "Venerabili Fratri nostro Rogerio Eboracensi Archiepiscopo tradas, si fieri potest, præsentibus fratribus et Co-episcopis nostris; aut si eos præsentibus habere nequiveris, hoc ipsum facias in præsentia eorum quos adesse contigerit. Et, ne originale scriptum possit aliquâ tergiversatione supprimi, transcriptum ejus legendum circumstantibus tradas, et eis, prout plenius te nuncius instruet, mentem aperias literarum."

Sunday-tide, the people had welcomed the Lord of Life as He approached Jerusalem, so did these simple folk now welcome Becket. They strawed their clothes in the way, and said, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*³. And their exultation was neither blasphemous nor profane. Ignorance was the cause of it, intermingled with the grateful expectation that the rod of their oppressors would be lightened, and that they should no longer be ground down by temporal lords, but ruled faithfully with a shepherd's crook. John of Salisbury had written to prepare the monks for his return, and had exhorted them "to meet him with all due honours, as their predecessors had met St. Anselm when he came back from banishment!" And so the parish priests received him with crosses in their hands, and the monks of Canterbury conducted him to their convent, themselves singing praises to God, and the bells chiming gladly in honour of his return.

The day after his arrival at Canterbury, the barons came to him and demanded the absolution of the prelates. The sentence, they said, had been pronounced in defiance of the king, and contrary to the customs of the realm. They added, that it was the young king's order, that, after absolution, the bishops would submit to the Canons of the Church, *saving the honour of the kingdom*. To this Becket replied, "It was not in the power of an inferior judge to release from the sentence of a superior, and that no man could abrogate what the apostolic see had decreed." This it appears was not true, as he had it in his power to absolve the Bishops of London and Salisbury. However, the officers of the king being urgent, he was induced conditionally, and at the request of the Bishop of Winchester, on his own peril to promise their absolution. But this was objected to by the Archbishop of York as against the dignity and the laws of the realm. Becket replied, that on their previous excommunication by him, they were not absolved without a promise to obey the Pope's injunctions, much less could they be absolved now from a sentence by the Pope himself, "*to which neither his nor any other human authority could be compared.*" Upon this the other prelates would have taken the oath, but the Archbishop of York dissuaded them from it; telling them,

³ The reader should here consult the Article in the Church of England Quarterly Review, before referred to. SOUTHEY, of course, is right, as usual. On Becket's landing, and on his way to Canterbury, the people were of one voice!

“that he had 8000 marks of silver in his chest, which he would willingly expend to repress the stubborn arrogance of that man.” He counselled them, moreover, to cross the sea to Henry with him, and to send messengers to the young prince with this warning, that Becket, by his violent proceedings, was endeavouring *to tear the crown from his head*. They came to this determination, and started, first of all having dispatched the Archdeacon of Canterbury to the young king. Becket had misgivings and sent a counter-messenger, excusing what he had done; but an audience was denied him. He then turned the matter over in his mind, and determined in person to start for Woodstock. Accordingly, after about eight days he started, and, with the blood of the Saracen in his veins, thought to appease the young king by a present of three fine barbs. His way was to London, and he purposed to visit his whole province with his full metropolitan and legantine powers. As he drew nigh to the metropolis, men, women, and children flocked to meet him. London was no mean city, and it was his birth-place. Many there were attached to him personally; many to the cause of the Church which he had so manfully defended. Others again, if they thought him wrong-headed, were convinced the heart was sound. Whether from this cause or that, the joy was general, and he was conducted to his lodgings in Southwark with the loudest acclamations of joy undeniable and not to be disguised.

“You would have thought the very windows spake,
So many greedy looks of young and old
Through casements darted their desiring eyes
Upon his visage; and that all the walls,
With painted imagery had said at once,—
Jesu preserve thee! welcome ⁴!”

Here, within two days, he had the mortification to receive a message from the young king at Woodstock, forbidding him to proceed further or to enter any of the king's cities or castles. He was furthermore commanded to return to Canterbury, and to confine himself within the precincts of his cathedral. At first he hesitated, thinking it was his duty to visit his province; but as the festival of Christmas was approaching, and as he intended in

⁴ Richard II., Act v. sc. ii.

person to officiate at that glad time, he returned with an escort to protect him from violence. But if, whilst in London, he was visited by the higher clergy and citizens of repute, it is clear from the historians of the time that men of rank—the barons and the nobles—kept aloof. They feared for their unjust possessions, and had no wish to disgorge the patrimony of the Church. It is likewise recorded that prosecutions were commenced against the primate's friends, but, from whatever cause, they were dropped. Meanwhile, at Canterbury, fresh insults were offered to his person, and the attempt was made to weary out his patience. Reports also of fresh and continued depredations of his estates were brought in. But "truth hath a quiet breast," and his courage never forsook him, however much others took alarm. At the same time he was aware of his danger. He wrote to the Pope, desiring his prayers, for that the sword of death was hanging over his head. The clergy he told that disaster was at hand, and that the quarrel would end in blood. And it was under this persuasion that at the end of his sermon on Christmas-day, he told the congregation *that his dissolution was near, and that he should quickly depart from them*. Thus far his address was such as became the Christian prelate, calm, dignified, devout. It spoke to the hearts of the assembled multitude, and tears testified their sorrow. It was then that the spirit of the old man, the lore of the Decretal, the fierce determination of the hierarchy fell upon him afresh; and all at once, changing his looks, he inveighed against the vices of the age, and thundered out anathemas against the chief of Henry's court. The candles were then lighted, and as they were dashed out, he excommunicated by name Ranulph de Broc, and Robert, his brother. The both, no doubt, were desperate marauders, and the vamped-up story that the latter had only cut off the tail of one of his sumpter's horses the day before, shows pretty clearly that there was something worse behind.

Meanwhile the Archbishop of York, together with the Bishops of London and Salisbury, had passed over into Normandy, and reported matters to the king. They told him, in no measured terms, what Becket had done, and they implored him of his justice and clemency, to come to the help of themselves, the clergy, and his kingdom. They added that all who had assisted at his son's coronation were excommunicated. Upon this the king burst out

into one of his fierce passions, exclaiming, "*Then, by God's eyes, he himself should not be excepted!*" The prelates would have allayed the storm they had raised, but Henry was not to be pacified. His rage but waxed the hotter, and he declared "that a fellow whom he had lifted up from the dust, trampled upon the whole kingdom, dishonoured the whole royal family, had driven him and his children from the throne, and triumphed thus unresisted; and that *he was very unfortunate to have maintained so many cowardly and ungrateful men in his court, none of whom would revenge him of the injuries he sustained from one turbulent priest!*" As was usual with him Henry vented his wrath in words. But there were those about him who were too ready, for their own interest, to interpret what he said literally, much as they must have been used to the humours of their sovereign. Such were four gentlemen of the bedchamber, Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracey, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Breto, knights and barons of the kingdom. These determined either to force the archbishop to submission, or, if matters came to the worst, to put him to death. Lest their departure should create suspicion they quitted the court at different hours and by separate routes; "but being conducted by the devil, as some monkish historians tell us, they all arrived at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, about six miles from Canterbury, on the same day, December 28th, and almost at the same hour⁵."

And here they made their arrangements with Ranulph de Broc, the more ready to join hands in their wicked counsels for that he held a considerable portion of the sequestered lands. He had under his command a band of soldiers used for guarding the coast. Of these they determined to take with them to Canterbury sufficient to withstand a rescue, either by the hands of the citizens or the primate's friends. On the morning of the 29th⁶ of December, 1170, they entered the city in small bodies, so as not to make alarm or suspicion. They were received, it is said, by Clarombaldus, the then Abbot of St. Augustine's, into his monastery, a person of depraved character, and who had been forced on the monks by Henry.

⁵ Henry. Vol. iii. p. 276.

⁶ In Weever's Funeral Monuments it is "upon Tuesday the 28th of December." The authority quoted is Matthew Paris. See Weever, p. 202. Ed. 1631.

Meanwhile, it was about eleven o'clock⁷, the primate had dined and was conversing with his monks. A message was then sent to him, stating that certain were present to speak with him on the part of the king. They were admitted, but it was observed that they did not return the archbishop's salutation. After a long silence, which boded no good, Reginald Fitzurse said, "We bring you orders from the king. Will you hear them in public or in private?" "As you like best," replied Becket. Fitzurse requested him to dismiss his company, which he did at once. He had not spoken much before his rough manner induced Becket to recall the monks, stating that whatever they had to say to him, might be repeated in their presence. They commanded him to "release the bishops from their sentence, in the king's name." He said, "it was not in his power to absolve them. What the Pope had done, he alone must undo." "But," said they, "you procured the sentence." To which he boldly replied, "*If the Pope had been pleased to revenge the injury done to the Church, he confessed, it did not displease him!*" They then declared that it was in his "heart to tear the crown from the young king's head." "Far, far, from that!" replied the primate, "nay, *saving the honour of God and his own soul*, I have earnestly desired to place more crowns upon his head, instead of taking one off, and I have loved him more tenderly than any other man could, except his royal father!" Becket then made further mention of the injuries he had suffered, both personally and in his see, and openly told Fitzurse, "you and more than two hundred knights were present, when the king told me I might compel those to make satisfaction, by ecclesiastical censures, who had disturbed the peace of the Church; nor can I any longer dissemble the proper discharge of my pastoral duties." They all declared that "they had heard

⁷ To readers used to the writings of earlier days such an hour is unattended with difficulty. Even so late as Shakespeare it was usual.

"Escalus. What's o'clock, think you?"

Justice. Eleven, Sir.

Escalus. I pray you home to dinner with me."

Measure for Measure, Act ii. sc. i.

Aubrey says, in his life of T. Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury: "His dinner was provided for him exactly by *Eleaven*, for he could not now stay till his lord's hour,—sc. about two." Letters from the Bodleian, vol. ii. p. 622. See also Note to Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 228, Ed. 1852, from Harrison's description of England, prefixed to Holingshed's Chronicle, p. 171.

nothing of the sort," and that the primate "was using threats." They found, however, that this ground was unsafe, and they then declared it was the king's command that "he and all that belonged to him should depart out of the kingdom." His answer was, that "to have issued such a command were little to the king's honour, and that *he would never again put the sea between him and his Church.*" He said besides that he would maintain the rights of the Church of Christ, and the laws of the Roman See. On this they drew nearer, and said: "We give you notice that you have spoken to the peril of your head." Possibly Becket then thought that his time was come, for he dauntlessly declared, "Are you come to kill me? I have committed my cause to the Supreme Judge of all, and am therefore unmoved at your threats. Nor are your swords more ready to strike, than my mind is to suffer martyrdom." They then bid the ecclesiastics secure the archbishop, adding, that if he escaped, they should answer for it. The knights of his household they forced away with them. There was little conciliation in the primate's speech, but he spoke like a man who feared God, and knew his duty. And it was with a full sense of it that he declared to John of Salisbury, his friend, who told him that his words were too sharp, "There is no want of more counsel. What I ought to do I well know." "They are donning their armour," said one. "What matters it," replied the primate, "let them arm." On this the servants barred the Abbey-gate, and the monks, fearing the result, drew him away by a private entry through the cloisters, into the cathedral, where the evensong was begun.

The four now came, with their attendants, before the abbey-gate, and would have broken it open with their battle-axes, but Ranulph de Broc, who well knew the house, showed them a way of entrance through a window. As they did not find Becket there, they followed him on to the cathedral. The monks were aware of their coming, and hastened to lock the door; but the archbishop forbade them, saying: "*You ought not to make a castle of the Church. It will protect us sufficiently without being shut: nor did I come hither to resist, but to suffer.*" Himself, at the same time opened the door, called in those monks that were without, and went up to the high altar. The assassins then rushed in, crying aloud, "Where is Thomas à Becket? Where is the traitor,

Becket?" On receiving no answer, they cried out again, "Where is the archbishop?" Then, descending the altar step, he confronted Reginald Fitzurse, and said, "Here I am, no traitor, but a priest. What would you have with me? I am ready to suffer in the name of Him who redeemed me with His blood. God forbid that I should fly, for fear of your swords, or recede from justice." Once more they commanded him to take off the ecclesiastical censures. "No satisfaction has been made," said the primate, "and I will not absolve them." Turning once again to Fitzurse, he said, "Reginald! I have done you many kindnesses, and come you to me thus armed?" Upon which he seized the primate's robes, as though with the intent to drag him down from the altar, and then said, "Fly!" "Never!" replied the primate, and withdrew his robes. He added, "I am ready to die that the Church may obtain liberty, and peace in my blood. But in the name of God I forbid you to hurt any of my people!"

They now rushed upon him, and, upon this occasion, William de Tracey caught hold of his robe with the intent, as they afterwards said, to carry him in bonds to the king, or, in case of resistance, to kill him in a less sacred place. But the archbishop was yet a strong man, and he shook the miscreant so roughly as to throw him almost to the ground. Reginald Fitzurse then closed with him, and him too he thrust off, opprobriously designating him bawd⁸. Enraged at this, he lifted up his sword, intending no second stroke, but Edmund⁹ Grime, a clerk,—whose name deserves to be recorded as faithful and true,—interposed his arm, which was almost cut off, and Becket was only wounded. With hands crossed he then fell on his knees, and these were the last words of Becket, "I recommend my soul, and the cause of the Church to God, to the Blessed Virgin, to the holy patrons of this place, to the martyrs St. Dionysius, and St. Elphege of Canterbury." Another blow brought him to the ground, on his face before the

⁸ Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 265: "He called one of them bawd, and pulled Tracy by the bosom almost down to the pavement of the church."

⁹ Butler, in his Lives of the Saints, says that Edmund, not Edward, is the Christian name of this faithful monk, though he says that the old MSS. of Clairmarais has the following title, "*Magistri Edvardi Vita vel Passio S. Thomæ Cant. Archiep.*" He continued to live at Canterbury after the archbishop's death, and left behind him the life alluded to. It is also stated by Butler that he had long been Becket's crossbearer.

altar. This was from the hand of Fitzurse, at the shrine of St. Benedict. Another and another succeeded, and Richard Breto, that he might have his share in this dreadful deed of blood, cleft the skull in twain, and broke his sword on the pavement. And to this, that no sort of inhumanity or ingratitude might be wanting to mark the act with atrocity unheard of, and with a brutality unparalleled, Hugh of Horsea, the sub-deacon, drew out the primate's brains, and scattered them on the ground, thus consigning his name to everlasting infamy.

The messengers of Henry—three barons whom he had sent to arrest the primate—arrived too late. The deed was done, and the archbishop's blood cried from the ground !

"It was not," says Inett, in his *Origines Anglicanæ*, "so much the faults of particular men, as a general licentiousness of the Clergy, together with their contempt of civil authority, founded on a pretence that they were not accountable to the secular power, which gave beginning to, and which was the true basis and foundation of, this unhappy controversy." And, doubtless, there is much truth in these remarks.

But, to inveigh against the Clergy has at all times been an acceptable office, and probably, bad as they may have been,—“borrel men” oftentimes, as that ancient poet styled them in his *Pastime of Pleasure*,—they did not receive more justice in HENRY II.'s time than now. If at any time moral discipline was at a low ebb with those in Holy Orders, fierce brutality was rampant amongst the Laity. None can read the history of those days without being forcibly struck with the fact, that the law of God, and the laws of man, were sadly set at nought. It redounds much to HENRY's credit, that throughout his reign he endeavoured to improve what was amiss, and to vindicate the rights of justice.

In truth, HENRY was a great king ; and, like his grandfather HENRY I., did all that lay in his power to have justice ministered truly and indifferently. *Humanum est errare*, and it is not necessary here to speak of the errors of either, which were those of the age. It is enough to declare that they were mighty benefactors to the nation, and could the latter have given his attention, whole

and undivided, to this realm of England, a stop would earlier have been put to much misrule, and probably matters would not have been as they turned out in the reign of RICHARD I. and JOHN. HENRY, too, was a scholar, though not surnamed Beauclerc. From his reign we may date a very considerable improvement in the literary character of our people. Learning was more valued, and learned men were held in more repute. It is true, letters were chiefly confined to the Clergy, in coif or cowl, but each held out the torch to his fellow, as in that ancient race, and the laymen's hound and hawk was sometimes laid aside for book—whether legend, postil, or breviary—for the minstrel's song, or the chronicler's recitation. Still, the spirit of the age was coarse, and took long to fine down—and it must be confessed that the irregularities of the regulars and the secular clergy—after making every allowance—was great. It was later than this that NIGEL WIREKER, Benedictine Monk, and Preceptor of the Church of Canterbury, wrote his *Speculum Stultorum*—but he must have had cause to say what he did, as had Piers Plowman, and Chaucer, and Skelton afterwards. If they had the license of poets, licentiousness gave them cause!

In the above popular sketch of Becket's life no summary is attempted of his character. The acts were left to bespeak the man, and the reader to form his own judgment. The judgment of the writer is something of this sort.

BECKET's was a mighty spirit—the master-spirit, certainly, of England at the time,—possibly of the world! He was a person of great natural talents, as well as of great acquirements—differing in this from Wolsey, whose life, by Cavendish, presents many points of similarity. Much of what Thucydides has said of Themistocles is applicable to him. His courage was undaunted, insomuch so, that it is a question whether even in his latter days the hero or the saint predominated! But, withal, it must be confessed that he was at heart, haughty, turbulent, and ambitious—in Foxe's words, “of a lusty and haughty stomach.” This was the enemy of his household, against which he had to wage a continual war, and oftentimes he had any thing but the victory. At the same time, as is well remarked, “if he was without amiable virtues, he was also without mean vices.” There was, in fact,

an openness of character about him when chancellor, which recommended him, not only to his sovereign, but to all around him. He was also free from vice and licentiousness, when the conduct of those in his rank and station was profligate and dissolute, coarse, and profane. No wonder, therefore, that his society was courted, and that the very barons, who envied him, were anxious that their sons should be members of his household, whether in peace or war, so as to be softened by his courtesy—for courteous he could be—as well as invigorated by having before them his personal prowess, and the example of his moral courage. They had common sense to see the force of example, and they were aware that BECKET's carriage was such as to command esteem, as well as to furnish excellence. The truth is, that Becket was more severe and strict as chancellor, than he was as archbishop—though the term strictness, when applied to his age, is to be understood with considerable allowances, as may be seen very clearly by extant correspondence.

From whence, then, it will probably be asked, do we date a change (if we may so express ourselves as regards one who can in nowise be called a bad man) for the worse? We have no scruple ourselves in asserting that this change took place after his studies at Bologna. His ambition, which was latently great before, now burnt within him like a pent-up fire. Full of matter, his spirit within him constrained him. He was ready to burst like new bottles that had no vent. He had well weighed the mightiness of the hierarchy. He beheld in it a stupendous power, to which before he was a stranger. It was a moral engine to upheave the world withal,—Christendom at least. The power of kings, of kaisars, and of emperors, was puny when compared with it. It could bind them in chains, and their nobles in links of iron. So that the difficulty was now to repress this predominant feeling. Doubtless, BECKET looked to the primacy, and till it fell into his hands, he had to act the diplomatist. And who so able?—Who so well practised as a negotiator?—His success at Rome was the first cause of his advancement. Why should it not be turned yet again to account!—He determined that it should, and to overcome the misgivings that he had as to overreaching his sovereign lord and friend, he schooled himself in the Decretals, and became

a proficient such as few Jesuits even in after days could compete with. But prelate and Jesuit might both have profited by the heathen's line ;

Βούλου κρατεῖν μὲν, ξὺν Θεῷ δ' αἰεὶ κρατεῖν."

And it is hereupon asked with wonderment,—How was he then sincere?—If vain, ambitious, implacable, obstinate, and self-willed, how is his character at all to be defended?—We must look to the age, but first and foremost to the school in which, by a strange sort of alchemy, these various propensities are turned into virtues. They all became merged into the unflinching champion of the hierarchy. Rome beheld in him the most useful instrument the age had produced—an *ἐμφυχον ὄργανον*. But, as such, she was afraid of his power in the hands of HENRY, and so adopted him, with all his infirmities, as her own child. It is true, we cannot, or can hardly, understand this,

Cum ventum ad verum est, sensus moresque repugnant !

But so it is, even though, in his distress, Rome's Popes sometimes used him scurvily, and when it served their purpose, played fast and loose with the most untractable of men. But the most wonderful point is still behind.

BECKET (alas ! for the weakness of human nature,) was self-deceived ! He was brought by degrees to look upon himself as the champion of the Cross ! HE CONFOUNDED THE UNHEARD OF PRIVILEGES OF THE CHURCH WITH RELIGION ! It was a consequence natural enough, that when matters had once advanced thus far, the king and the primate should be rivals, according to that proverb of the ancients, *Unum arbustum non alit duos erithacos !*

Then again, such was the robbery and spoliation that the Church had undergone at the hands of the State ; such was the miserable condition of the Church's patrimony at this time in England, that the heart of BECKET,—his heart of hearts, and the better part of him,—could not brook the contumely. Bishoprics were not filled up ; abbeys were in a like sort ; and the chances were, that in a few years no endowments would be left. How should BECKET, of all men living, stomach this ? Moreover, schooled as he was, and notwithstanding the vacillating conduct of Rome towards him, when it served a purpose, to him the authority of the Pope was

paramount, and it would be a kind of moral sacrilege to give up the Clergy to lay tribunals. Was the civil sword more to be heeded than that of St. Peter? Condemnation by common law more than censures ecclesiastical?

Acute, strong-minded, and energetic as the primate was, he did not detect the fallacy under which he had laboured. The result of this self-delusion was, that he lost sight of his besetting sins—vanity and personal ambition, however well masked. In the place of these he saw in himself an honest and thorough determination to defend the cause of right, and a firm resolution to support the pedestal of the Cross, as though *that* foundation were not better laid! Obstinacy became self-devotion; prejudice and bigotry sound zeal for the glory of God, and an intrepid perseverance in the blood of holy martyrs! *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiæ* was to him for hatchment and for posy! Attachment to the hierarchy blotted out all earthly affections, so that ingratitude to a sovereign seemed no sin; and the ties of friendship were snapped asunder like tow, or counted as an amiable weakness! BECKET, in a word, was self-deceived, and “the cause,” says one, “which to us wears few marks of Christian truth, to him was sacred, and he defended it sincerely.” (*Berington*, p. 240.)

After all, he was neither such a sinner as some, nor such a saint as others represent him to have been. The best of men are but men at best, and he, like the rest of us, was hedged in by infirmities. He had a great part to play, and great abuses to stem. He was tried by prosperity and adversity. It may be, he was weighed and found wanting; dust nevertheless he was, and mercifully as such to be dealt with by brethren in after ages, who haply err no less than he did in their every-day trials, and every-day temptations! How should the consideration of his life imprint upon the ambitious Churchman the prophet's words, “*And seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not!*” (Jer. xlv. 5,) and much more those words of our Blessed Lord, so little exemplified in his restless, turbulent, and care-galled life. “BLESSED ARE THE MEEK!” “BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS!” Great was the name the archbishop left behind him, but many nameless ones have done great acts, and a better record is kept in heaven than in the martyrologies of earth! At the same time, as that great and good Christian philosopher said on his Christian Morals,

“Culpable beginnings have found commendable conclusions, and infamous courses pious retractations. Detestable sinners have proved exemplary converts on earth, and may be glorious in the apartment of Mary Magdalen in heaven. Men are not the same through all the divisions of their ages; time, experience, self-reflections, and God’s mercies, make in some well-tempered minds a kind of translation before death, and men differ from themselves as well as from other persons.” CHARITY IN THE LONG RUN JUDGES BEST. And thus, alive to the worst of BECKET’s faults, we are not sorry to quote the words of a great divine, (THOMAS JACKSON,) and to conclude, “To sit as coroners upon the souls of men deceased, is a thing which I have ever disliked, though sometimes practised by men, otherwise of deserved esteem. And whosoever in this case will take upon him to sit as judge, my request shall be not to serve upon the jury.”

No. II.

Parochial Fragments, &c.

"Tria sunt necessaria puritati : Integritas actionis, simplicitas intentionis, tranquillitas devotionis."

PSEUDO-BERNARD, *Lib. Sentent.* ii. 778.

"It is not the stubborn letter must govern us, but the divine and softening breath of charity, which turns and winds the dictates of every positive command, and shapes it to the good of mankind."

MILTON, *Tetrachordon*, P. W. ii. 165.

"To those men who employ their natural faculties to the glory of God, and their own and others' edification, God shall afford an exaltation of those natural faculties. In those, who use their learning, or their wealth, or their power, well, God shall increase that power, and that wealth, and that learning, even in this world."

DONNE's *Sermons*, xlvii. p. 464.

"An easy matter it is to bind heavy burdens for other men's shoulders ; but it is not so easy to persuade the people to take them up to bear them, so long as the binders, like those Pharisees in the Gospel, refuse to touch them with the least of their fingers. If we think to awaken the world out of their dead sleep, it will not be enough to crow unto others, unless withal we shall beat our wings on our own sides."

DEAN RALEIGH's *Sermons*, p. 50. 4to. 1679.

"Without the sovereign influence of God's extraordinary and immediate grace, men do very rarely put off all the trappings of their Pride, till they who are about them put on their winding-sheet."

CLARENDON's *Essay Of Pride*, i. 79.

"Policy, the great idol of a carnal reason, is that which insensibly works the soul to a despisal of religion."

SOUTH's *Sermons*, vi. 76.

Parochial Fragments,

&c. &c. &c.

EUBULUS.

I AM sorry to have left you so long to yourself. My wish was to have returned last night, but I could not get the business I was about settled. These Parochial concerns are at times both vexatious and harassing. However, you had the library at your command, and few know how to make use of a library better.

ALETHES.

Will you credit me, Eubulus, when I say I have scarcely taken down a book? The truth is, I have devoted myself to your sketch of Becket's life, and have looked only to your authorities. It is deeply interesting, and there are more points than one on which I wish to make some inquiries. And first, are you aware how closely the narrative coincides with that beautiful account in Southey's "Book of the Church?"

EUBULUS.

It is a matter on which I feel the greatest satisfaction; but on comparing the two sketches together, I doubted much as to the publication of my own. In fact, it seemed needless.

ALETHES.

I am well pleased to infer that your doubts are at an end.

EUBULUS.

They are. On reconsidering the matter in my own mind, it

appeared to me quite worth while to show how diligent historical research, and careful weighing of authorities, had brought two writers, agreeing in the main, but differing on lesser points, to nearly the same conclusions. I do not happen to have at hand the later edition of the "Book of the Church," where the references are given at the foot of the page, but the great authority of Southey, like my own, was Lord Lyttelton. The order of events would show this. You will have noted a few points of difference. I would by no means assert that my arrangement is correct; but it is made after a careful comparison of conflicting dates.

ALETHES.

What other authorities did you make use of?

EUBULUS.

At a distance from public libraries, I had no opportunity of consulting those Authors whom I will designate Chroniclers and Annalists¹. From these the history of the time is chiefly derived, and all subsequent writers are indebted to them for their details. The facts, however, I was enabled to weigh and to compare, carefully divesting each of favour or prejudice. If in any instances I have been betrayed on one side or the other, some one hereafter will do the like by me.

ALETHES.

But say, whose accounts do you look upon as most valuable, next to Lord Lyttelton's?

EUBULUS.

I think, the historian Henry; and, making allowance for favourable construction, and possibly something more, I would place Berington next. Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints," is the advocate of a party, and is as little to be followed closely as Hume or Rapin. Sharon Turner's account of Becket is not sufficiently in detail, but what is written is well written. I wish

¹ They are enumerated in Mr. Berington's Preface, who gives a short account of them severally. They are, William of Malmesbury, William of Newborough, Ralph de Diceto, Gervase of Canterbury, Roger de Hoveden, Giraldus Cambrensis, Geoffry Vinisalvus, Mathew Paris, the Chronicles of Mailros, and of Walter Hemingford, and the Annals of Morgan of Burton, and of Waverley. See pp. vii.—xviii. The *Quadrilogus* and Becket's Letters are of course the great authority.

it had been longer. Fox, in his "Acts and Monuments," can scarcely be looked upon as historical authority. He and Butler may be considered as the two extremes. Fuller, again, has a decided bias, though there are many points which he touches well. I am not sure whether Collier does not deserve to be enumerated next to Lord Lyttelton. He takes, I think, a fairer view of Becket's character than his Lordship did. I need hardly tell you that I have consulted every authority I could lay my hands upon, but I shall not mention other names now.

ALETHES.

Perhaps I do not myself much dissent from the opinion expressed by Inett, in his "*Origines Anglicanæ*," which I referred to yesterday. But let me ask, Eubulus, how it is that in concluding Becket's history, you did not sum up his character? I could much wish to hear from your own mouth an opinion, long ere this, matured in your own breast. The omission is clearly intended and on purpose.

EUBULUS.

It is. To sketch the character of Becket was no easy matter, and I therefore did not attempt it. My intention was that his acts should speak for him, and that his infirmities should be set down to the score of the cross. As, however, you press the point, I will declare my sentiments. But it is of little use, save to gratify a friend, as each one will draw his own conclusions from the study of the Life. And trust me, it is no easy study. It required much reading, and the careful investigation of conflicting evidence. Prepared as I was, I devoted the leisure of three months to the collection of details, which took but a week to put in the order in which you read it.

ALETHES.

I know your industry and love of research. I recollect the fact, that when, many years ago, the edition of the *Acharnians*, by Elmsley, was bought up,—at all events, not to be procured,—you quietly sat down and made a manuscript copy of it from one lent you by Bishop Butler. I attribute to that your ready knowledge in the Prince of Comic Poets.

EUBULUS.

Such studies are past and gone ! “ *Nunc oblita mihi tot carmina !* ”

ALETHES.

There needs no tone of melancholy, Eubulus. They have done their work, and have made your taste severe as it is. There are no models like the Greek and Roman writers. But, think aloud ! and let me hear of Becket.

EUBULUS.

At your request I have appended to the Lifemy Second Thoughts. But I omitted to state, that much as I dislike a great portion of Hume's summing up, there is much truth, nevertheless, in parts of it. For example, “ No man who enters into the genius of that age, can reasonably doubt of this prelate's sincerity. The spirit of superstition was so prevalent, that it infallibly caught every careless reasoner, much more every one whose interest, and honour, and ambition, were engaged to support it.” Again, “ Throughout that large collection of letters which bears the name of St. Thomas, we find, in all the retainers of that aspiring prelate, no less than in himself, a most entire and absolute conviction of the reason and piety of their own party, and a disdain of their antagonists. The spirit of revenge, violence, and ambition, which accompanied their conduct, instead of forming a presumption of hypocrisy, are the surest pledges of their sincere attachment to a cause, which so much flattered their domineering passions.” I will only add to what has been said the extract which follows. It is from Bishop Short's “ Sketch of the History of the Church of England,” “ Of the cleverness and decision of Becket's character there can be no doubt ; but it seems equally unquestionable that his object was personal ambition ; he died a martyr to the cause of the advancement of his own ecclesiastical power. The violence of his letters to the Court of Rome, and the vindictive persecution of his enemies, show most forcibly how far he was from that serenity which the disinterestedness of a good cause can alone inspire².”

² Vol. i. p. 57.

ALETHES.

I owe you many thanks for your delineation of Becket's character. There are points on which we should differ, but not materially; and others, as you said, will do the like. As regards the tinge of his character, however, derived from the study of the Decretals, I am quite at one with you. Refresh my memory, will you, as to the date of Gratian and their publication?

EUBULUS.

I cannot do better than read to you what Blackstone says in his "Commentaries:" "The canon law is a body of Roman ecclesiastical law, relative to such matters as that Church either has, or pretends to have, the proper jurisdiction over. This is compiled from the opinions of the ancient Latin fathers, the decrees of general councils, and the decretal epistles and bulls of the Holy See. All which lay in the same disorder and confusion as the Roman civil law: till about the year 1151, one Gratian, an Italian monk, animated by the discovery of Justinian's Pandects," (at Amalfi, about 1130,) "reduced the ecclesiastical constitutions also into some method, in three books; which he entitled *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, but which are generally known by the name of *Decretum Gratiani*. These reached as low as the time of Pope Alexander III. The subsequent Papal decrees, to the Pontificate of Gregory IX., were published in much the same method, under the auspices of that Pope, about the year 1230, in five books, entitled *Decretalia Gregorii Noni*. A sixth book was added by Boniface VIII., about the year 1298, which is called *Sextus Decretalium*. The Clementine Constitutions, or decrees of Clement V., were in like manner authenticated in 1317, by his successor, John XXII.; who also published twenty Constitutions of his own, called the *Extravagantes Joannis*: all which in some measure answer to the novels of the civil law. To these have been since added some decrees of later Popes, in five books, called *Extravagantes Communes*. And all these together, Gratian's decree, Gregory's decretals, the sixth decretal, the Clementine constitutions, and the extravagants of John and his successors, form the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, or body of the Roman canon law³."

³ Blackstone's Com., vol. i. p. 75. Ed. Chitty.

ALETHES.

Clear and satisfactory. What historical recollections arise in one's mind, Eubulus, at the mention of Amalfi ! Not only were the Pandects found there, but, as Gibbon tells, " the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune ⁴." In William of Apulia's words,

" Hâc plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta maris cœlique vias aperire peritus."

EUBULUS.

In her palmy days, fifty thousand citizens dwelt within her walls. You will not forget the pretty poem of Amalfi, in Rogers's " Italy."

" The time has been
When on the quays along the Syrian coast,
'Twas asked and eagerly, at break of dawn,
' What ships are from Amalfi ?' when her coins
Silver and gold, circled from clime to clime ;
From Alexandria southward to Sennaar,
And eastward, thro' Damascus and Cabul,
And Samarcand, to thy great wall, Cathay !"

ALETHES.

In her prosperity she built and endowed churches in the East, and by her merchants was founded the military order of St. John of Jerusalem. Such things are not lightly forgotten. Had we done what Amalfi did, Eubulus, the burden of our sin were not so heavy. But as a great mercantile nation we have left undone what we ought to have done, and we have much to answer for. But does not Rogers allude to the Hospital of St. John ?

EUBULUS.

He does, and the passage is evidently written *con amore*. I will recite it to you.

" Then in Palestine,
By the way side, in sober grandeur stood

⁴ See Gibbon's " Decline and Fall," vol. x. p. 276. Ed. Milman. It was " seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty to the south of Naples." It enjoyed a prosperity of three hundred years, before it was " oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa."—See also Hallam, *Hist. of Middle Ages*, iii. 390. 394.

A Hospital, that, night and day, received
 The pilgrims of the West; and, when 'twas asked
 'Who are the noble founders?' every tongue
 At once replied, 'The merchants of Amalfi!'
 That Hospital, when Godfrey scaled the walls,
 Sent forth its holy men in complete steel;
 And hence, the cowl relinquish'd for the helm,
 That chosen band, valiant, invincible,
 So long renown'd as champions of the Cross,
 In Rhodes, in Malta."

ALETHES.

But we are wandering from our subject, and there is a question I wish to ask, relative to Gratian, before we return to Becket. On turning to Hoffman's "Lexicon Univers." I found there, *Gratianus, Monachus Bononiensis, Petri Lombardi sententiarum magistri frater*. If this be true, it is a remarkable fact I was not aware of.

EUBULUS.

There are few more useful books to a scholar than Hoffman, but like other great books it contains great mistakes. The present is one of the lesser ones. A mistake it is, nevertheless. Miræus, in his Scholia on Henricus Gandavensis, mentions Gratian as *Petro Lombardo coævus*, but he presently adds, *Falluntur tamen, qui Gratianum, Petrum Lombardum, et Petrum Comestorem germanos fratres fuisse asserunt*⁵. I was led to examine the matter from having myself found the statement you allude to.

ALETHES.

Those faithful friends, your books, you have made good use of. It is seldom I ask for information without receiving it. But to return to Becket. Little, it seems, was after all gained by the contest. There was a time, however, whilst it was going on, when Henry might have dictated terms to the Roman See, and I have often thought that King John's words to Pandulph might have been used with effect by his father:

"What earthly name to interrogatories
 Can task the free breath of a sacred king?"

⁵ The passage will be found in Fabricii Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, p. 123.

Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name
 So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
 To charge me to an answer, as the Pope.
 Tell him this tale ; and from the mouth of England
 Add thus much more,—That no Italian priest
 Shall tithe or toll in our dominions ;
 But as we under heaven are supreme head,
 So, under him, that great supremacy,
 Where we do reign, we will alone uphold
 Without the assistance of a mortal hand :
 So tell the Pope ; all reverence set apart
 To him, and his usurp'd authority ⁶.”

EUBULUS.

Henry might have said it with a better grace than his unworthy son, but I do not think that he would have said it. The truth is, we can scarcely at this day understand the spell which wrought so effectually, and maintained the power of the Hierarchy. From this, Henry was not emancipated. He was within the magic circle. And, to say the truth, superstition is at any time better than atheism. I make no doubt the Papacy, at different times, wrought a good work. Opposed as I am thoroughly and entirely to the spirit of Romanism, I must in justice allow this. Many dark places of the earth, full of cruelty, were humanized by its influence. But, when it exceeded, it fell. I would apply to the idolatries of Rome that verse of the Prophet: *When Ephraim spake trembling, he exalted himself in Israel ; but when he offended in Baal, he died*⁷. But to answer your question. Little does seem to have been gained on the present occasion.

ALETHES.

If I recollect well, the terms of agreement and reconciliation were settled at the convent of Savigni, near Avranches, the Sunday before Ascension-day, 1172. Albert and Theodine were the Pope's legates, and the negotiation was effected—was it not ?—by the intervention of the Bishop of Lisieux. As you have Lyttelton at hand, I wish you would read me the articles.

EUBULUS.

They are as follows: “1. That in the course of the next

⁶ King John, Act iii. Sc. i.

⁷ Hosea xiii. 1.

twelvemonth from the approaching feast of Pentecost, the King should give so much money as the Knights Templars should deem sufficient to maintain two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land during the term of one year. But that, from the next Christmas-day, he should take the cross himself for the term of three years, and the following summer go in person to the Holy Land, unless the obligation were dispensed with by Pope Alexander himself, or his Catholic successors. Nevertheless, if, from the pressing necessity of the Christians in Spain, he should go thither to make war against the Saracens, he might in that case defer his journey to Jerusalem, for so much time as he should spend in such an expedition. 2. That he neither should hinder himself, nor suffer others to hinder, appeals from being made freely, *with good faith, and without fraud and evil intention*, in ecclesiastical causes to the Roman Pontiff; so that they may be tried and determined according to his judgment. *Yet with a proviso, that if any appellants were suspected by the King, they should give him security, that they would not attempt any thing to the prejudice of him or his kingdom.* 3. That he should absolutely give up those constitutions or customs which had been introduced *in his time* against the Church of his kingdom. 4. That if any lands had been taken from the See of Canterbury, he should fully restore them, as they were held by that see a year before Archbishop Becket went out of England. 5. That to all the clergy and laity of either sex, who had been deprived of their possessions on the account of that prelate, he should likewise restore those possessions with his peace and favour⁸." Such were the articles, and to these Henry and his son swore to accede, as well as to adhere to Alexander *so long as he should treat them like Christian and Catholic Kings.*

ALETHES.

Certainly, it would seem from these articles that Henry gave up all he had been contending for.

EUBULUS.

So, at first sight, one is apt to conclude. But it is difficult to judge accurately of matters which have happened long ago.

⁸ Lyttelton, vol. iii. p. 96.

Henry evidently thought he had made a politic arrangement, and in writing to the Bishop of Exeter, touching the constitutions or customs mentioned in Article 2, his words are, "*which I reckon to be few or none.*"

ALETHES.

It was a strange thing to find Henry doing penance at the shrine of Becket. Such a sight, I suppose, was never seen before. To say the least, it showed that the King's mind was under the prevailing influence of a superstitious awe.

EUBULUS.

And so it was, no doubt. A like influence impelled him in his sickness, in 1170, to request that he might be buried at the feet of one of the Abbots of Grammont. On his recovery, you will recollect that he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Mary of Roque Madour in the Quercy, whom he had involved in his danger. As I remarked above, his mind was not emancipated.

ALETHES.

The fame, however, of Becket, increased daily—*quem multis postea miraculis* (as it stands in the Breviary) *idem Alexander Pontifex retulit in sanctorum numerum.* And thus, in Shakspeare's words, he was

"Canonized and worshipp'd as a saint!"

EUBULUS.

The bull for his canonization is dated March, 1173. The Pope, it is pretty clear, was imposed upon by the account of the miracles said to be wrought at his shrine.

ALETHES.

Imposed upon he may have been to a certain extent, but he must have had some misgivings on the point. Be that as it may, it is sad to see the result of imposition, and how it trenched upon

⁹ In the "Pictorial History of England," vol. i. p. 456, is a plate of the "Murder of Becket: from an ancient Painting hung at the head of the Tomb of Henry IV., in Canterbury Cathedral, engraved and described in Carter's Ancient Sculptures and Paintings."

There is a rude painting of this in East Preston Church, and it is said that there were formerly a hundred such in different churches. All seem to have been equally guiltless of perspective and other perfections.

profaneness and blasphemy. For example, adoration was offered to him, and those things were asked of him which God only could give. Burnet, in his "Records," reprints the following, together with some of the Collects and Hymns to the Saints in the Hours *ad usum Sarum*, Paris, 1520.

"Fol. 12. S. Tho. Cant.: *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.*"

Versicle. "*Gloriâ et honore coronasti eum.*"

Response. "*Et constituisti eum suprâ opera manuum tuarum*¹."

This is very melancholy! But even so late as 1829, in the *Pars Hiemalis* of the *Breviarium Romanum*, printed at Paris, we yet find the prayer following:—"Deus pro cujus Ecclesiâ generosus Pontifex Thomas gladiis impiorum occubuit, præsta, quæsumus, ut omnes qui ejus implorant auxilium petitionis suæ salutarem consequantur effectum. Per Dominum²."

EUBULUS.

Melancholy it is, Alethes, beyond doubt! But it is equally so to read of the several offerings that were made, after Becket's death, at the three greatest altars in Christ Church, Canterbury. These were dedicated to Christ, the Virgin, and St. Thomas. I give the statement as it stands in Burnet: "In one year there was offered at Christ's Altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* To the Virgin's Altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But to St. Thomas's, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* But the next year the odds were greater; for there was not a penny offered at Christ's Altar, and at the Virgin's only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; but at St. Thomas's, 945*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*³"

ALETHES.

Such is human nature! frail, and fallible, and led astray continually. We are apt to boast of our solid unenthusiastic cha-

¹ See vol. ii. part ii. p. 221. The translation is given in Fox's "Acts and Monuments:"—

"For the blood of Thomas
Which he for Thee did spend,
Grant us, Christ, to climb
Where Thomas did ascend."

Reprint, vol. ii. 254.

² *Pars Hiemalis*, p. 257.

³ See Burnet's "History of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 488. Ed. Clar. 1829.

racter, but, after all, we are much like to the rest of the world. There is scarce a folly named, but we are dupes to it, and St. Paul might have said to us, as he did to the Athenians when he stood in the midst of Mars' Hill, "I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious⁴."

EUBULUS.

For no less than three hundred years Becket was accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven. "Nor was it enough," says the same authority, "to give him one day in the Calendar, the 29th of December; but unusual honours were devised for this martyr of the liberties of the Church, greater than any that had been given to the martyrs for Christianity. The day of raising his body, or, as they called it, of his translation, being the 7th of July, was not only a holiday, but every fiftieth year there was a jubilee for fifteen days together, and indulgence was granted to all that came to visit his shrine; as appears from the record of the sixth jubilee after his translation, anno 1420; which bears, that there were then about an hundred thousand strangers come to visit his tomb. The jubilee began at twelve o'clock on the vigil of the feast, and lasted fifteen days." I may add, what is yet to be seen, the marble steps are worn with the knees of the pilgrims!

ALETHES.

That strange book, "*Aubrey's Miscellanies*," is worth reading, were it but for what is said there of Dr. Richard Nepier, Rector of Lynford, Bucks. "He died upon his knees, being of a very great age, April 1, 1634. His knees were horny with frequent praying⁵." Happy testimony! But the knees of these pilgrims were but occasional visitors to St. Thomas's shrine. It was the multitude that wore the marble. But did not Henry VIII. unsaint and unshrine the martyr?

EUBULUS.

He did, and it would be well for his memory if he had never done worse. The proclamation is dated November 16th, 1538. The latter words of it declare, "That notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in this (? his) life and ex-

⁴ Acts xvii. 22.

⁵ See p. 226. 8vo. 1784.

terior conversation, whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince. Therefor his grace straightly chargeth and commandeth that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, or called a saint; but Bishop Becket: and that his images and pictures, through the hole realme, shall be put down and avoided, out of all churches, chappelles, and other places. And that from henceforth, the days used to be festivals in his name, shall not be observed; nor the service, office, antiphones, collettes, and praises in his name redde, but rased and put out of all the bookes⁶."

ALETHES.

Wicked work was mingled with the good, my friend, when those of Henry's time, and the Puritans afterwards, took to image and glass-breaking! No church but shows the handiwork of destruction! no cathedral but whose fair beauty and proportions are marred! But so it must be. As in a plague or a hurricane good and ill taste the same desolation! And then in the crusade against painted glass and image-work, the people had a hand—and truly Jack Cade said well of their mischievous propensities: "Was ever feather so lightly blown to and fro, as this multitude?" But the shrine was found to be wealthy, was it not?

EUBULUS.

It was. Insomuch so, that when it was broken open and carried away, the gold that was about it, says Burnet, "filled two chests, which were so heavy, that they were a load to eight strong men to carry them out of the church." The stone, too, which had been offered by Louis VII. of France was believed to be the richest in Europe. It was found out at the same time that the Primate's skull, "which had been so much worshipped, was an imposture; for the true skull was lying with the rest of his bones in his grave."

ALETHES.

Well, well, Eubulus! these fooleries have had their day in our

⁶ See "Collection of Records," vol. iii. part ii. p. 206. "*Westm' xvi. Norembris, anno regni regis Henrici Octavi xxx.*" See also Strype's "*Eccles. Memorials*," vol. iii. part i. p. 333; and "*Annals of the Reformation*," vol. i. part i. p. 70.

⁷ Second Part of Henry VI., Act iv. Sc. viii.

own land, and others, perhaps, have succeeded them. In passing from the melancholy side of the subject, let us not forget that it is to St. Thomas's shrine we owe the "Canterbury Tales"—Chaucer's master-work! How simply and prettily he tells us that in spring,

"Whanne that April with his shoures sote
 The droughte of March hath perced to the rote,
 And bathed every veine in swiche licour
 Of whiche vertue engendred is the flour;
 Whan Zephirus eke with his sote brethe
 Enspired hath in every holt and hethe
 The tendre croppes, and the younge sonne
 Hath in the Ram his halfe cours yronne,
 And småle foules maken melodie
 That slepen alle night with open eye,
 So priketh hem Nature in her corages;
 Than longen folk to gon on pilgrimages,
 And palmeres for to seken strange strondes
 To serwe halwes couthe in sondry londes;
*And specially, from every shire's ende
 Of Engeland, to Canterbury they wende,
 The holy blisful martyr for to seke
 That hem hath holpen, whan that they were seke."*

EUBULUS.

You are always ready to turn to your favourites, and, sooth to say, were I to frame an Utopia, I would never banish Poetry from it! Nothing can rival the simplicity of our ancient bard. To this day the locality is as well known as Westminster or St. Paul's. But I interrupted you. Say on.

ALETHES.

Nay, 'twas my humour! There were but a few lines more that rang in my ear like music, or a bubbling trout-stream in the high noon of a summer's day.

"Befelle, that, in that seson on a day,
 In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay,
 Redy to wenden on my pilgrimage
 To Canterbury with devoute courage,
 At night was come into that hostelrie
 Wel nine and twenty in a compaignie

Of sondry folk, by aventure yfalle
 In felowship, and pilgrimes were they alle,
 That toward Canterbury wolden ride.
 The chambres and the stables weren wide,
 And wel we weren esed atte beste."

EUBULUS.

Had all sung like Chaucer, the name of Poet had not been wronged. And now, I bethink me, it was well said of Sir Philip Sidney, in his "Defence of Poesy," "That wise Solon was directly a Poet, having written, in verse, the notable fable of the 'Atlantic Island,' which was continued by Plato. And, truly, even Plato, whosoever well considereth, shall find, that in the body of his work, though the inside and strength were philosophy, the skin, as it were, and beauty, depended most of poetry." And presently after, having referred to the Divine Songs of David, "wherein, almost, he showeth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty, to be seen by the eyes of the mind, but clearer by faith," he adds, "They that with quiet judgments, will look a little deeper into it, shall find the end and working of it such, as being rightly applied, deserveth not to be scourged out of the Church of God⁸."

ALETHES.

You speak of a book I love full well. The Defence would hardly please modern ears, but it is full of heart and beauty. And who so beloved as Sidney? No wonder that Lord Brooke should inscribe himself as his friend; or that Spenser should mourn the loss of

"A gentle shepherd born in Arcady
 Of gentlest race that ever shepherd bore!"

⁸ See "Defence of Poesy," pp. 6. 9. Ed. Gray. The use of *to make* below, quoted from Spenser, is best illustrated by a passage from the same work: "But now let us see how the Greeks have named it, and how they deemed of it. The Greeks named him ποιητήν, which name hath, as the most excellent, gone through other languages; it cometh of this word ποιῆν, which is *to make*; wherein I know not, whether by luck or wisdom, we Englishmen have met with the Greeks in calling him 'a maker.'"

Puttenham begins his first Book of "Poets and Poesie" in these words: "A POET is as much to say as a maker. And our Englishe name well conformes with the Greeke worde; for of ποιῆν *to make*, they call a maker *Poeta*." Ed. Jos. Haslewood. 4to. 1811.

It is of him, too, that he elsewhere says,

“The god of shepherds, Tityrus, is dead,
Who taught me, homely as I can, *to make!*”

EUBULUS.

Spenser, Alethes, was one of the lamented Southey's greatest favourites, than whom a purer spirit never poured forth immortal verse! He is gone to his rest! But he has left behind him an antidote for the scurrilous, and licentious, and infidel rhyme which was coming in, like a flood, some twenty or thirty years ago. He was a “*Vates Divinus*,” and the nation owes him a deep debt of gratitude. Few could have said with greater justice, in Othello's words,

“I have done the state some service, and they know it!”

When I dwell upon the lineaments of his face, I cannot but call to mind those lines in Spenser's *Elegie**,

“A sweet attractive kind of grace,
A full assurance given by looks,
Continual comfort in a face,
The lineaments of Gospel bookes:
I trowe that countenance cannot lie
Whose thoughts are legible in the eie.

“Was never eie did see that face,
Was never eare did hear that tong,
Was never minde did minde his grace
That ever thought the travell long;
But eies and eares, and every thought
Were with his sweete perfections caught.”

ALETHES.

I can illustrate this from a circumstance which came to my own knowledge. Between those years of melancholy misrule, privy conspiracy, and rebellion, and all that was bad, 1830—1835, (I cannot say which,) a most violent partisan, and one who earned his bread by doing work for Whigs and Radicals, passed through Keswick, and saw (by some chance) the Laureate with his family. He never forgot the sight, and when called

* “An *Elegie*, or *Friend's Passion*, for his *Astrophill*.” It was written on Sir Philip Sidney's death.

upon afterwards to write some invective or other, he at once refused, saying, "*I have seen him amongst the mountains!*"

"Above all others this is hee,
Which erst approved in his song
That love and honour might agree,
And that pure love will do no wrong.
Sweet Saints! it is no sinne or blame
To love a man of virtuous name!"

EUBULUS.

How often and how eloquently have I heard him speak of the base use made of the gift divine! Who need be surprised at his love for Spenser, who attuned his lyre to such truths as these!

"Heapes of huge words uphoorded hideously
With horrid sound though having little sense,
They think to be chiefe praise of Poëtry:
And thereby wanting due intelligence
Have mard the face of goodly Poësie,
And made a moster of their fantasie.

"Whilom in ages past none might professe
But Princes and high Priests that secret skill;
The sacred lawes therein they wont expresse
And with deep Oracles their verses fill:
Then was she held in sovereign dignitie
And made the noursling of nobilitie.

"But now nor Prince nor Priest doth her maintayne,
But suffer her profaned for to bee
Of the base vulgar, that with hands uncleane
Dares to pollute her hidden mysterie;
And treadeth under foot her holie things
Which was the care of Kesars and of Kings¹."

ALETHES.

Vice, sooner or later, must bow to virtue!—Byron could not help praising Crabbe. I honour his memory, were it but for these words in his Preface to the "*Tales of the Hall*:" "There is nothing in these pages which has the mischievous effect of confounding truth and error, or confusing our ideas of right and wrong. I know not which is most injurious to the yielding minds

¹ The Teares of the Muses. *Polyhymnia*.

of the young, to render virtue less respectable by making its possessors ridiculous, or by describing vice with so many fascinating qualities, that it is either lost in the assemblage, or pardoned by the association. Man's heart is sufficiently prone to make excuse for man's infirmity; and needs not the aid of poetry, or eloquence, to take from vice its native deformity." Words of wisdom these, Eubulus! And so he says in "The Sisters:"

"I will be brief;—I have not heart to dwell
On crimes they almost share who paint them well!"

EUBULUS.

Crabbe's praise will not be taken from him, and those who come after us will recommend his writings to their children. I say writings, for I look upon him rather as moralist than poet. Mistake me not, however; he too has his place at the "horse-foot Hippocrene." But what we have said, Alethes, illustrates that charming passage in the "Defence of Poesy" before appealed to. It will recal to your mind the lines of Shakspeare², who possibly had read it.

"Now therein, of all sciences, (I speak still of human, and according to the human conceit,) is our poet the monarch. For he doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way, as will entice any man to enter into it: nay, he doth, as if your journie should lie through a fair vineyard, at the very first give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste you may long to pass farther. He beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margin with interpretations, and load the memory with doubtfulness; but he cometh to you in words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well-enchanting skill of music; and with a tale, forsooth, he cometh to you with a tale, which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney-corner; and, pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue³; even

² The lines alluded to are in "Love's Labour's Lost." They are these:

"Aged ears play truant at his tales,
And younger hearings are quite ravished:
So sweet and voluble is his discourse."—Act ii, Sc. i.

³ Sir Philip Sidney had Horace at his fingers' ends. See A. P. v. 333:

"Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetæ,
Aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitæ."

as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things, by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste; which, if one should begin to tell them the nature of the aloes or rhabarbarum they should receive, would sooner take their physic at their ears than at their mouth: so is it with men⁴," &c. &c.

ALETHES.

And thus you go rambling on, Eubulus, like a second Lucilius, whom Horace takes off! But the fault was all my own. I must needs refer to the "Canterbury Tales," instead of holding on to Becket's History. But tell me, now, of the old house hard by, which is called Becket's house.

EUBULUS.

It is little that there is to tell, and that little is traditional. But who is there who likes to throw discredit on the testimony of the aged? It scarce seems amiable, to my thinking, Alethes, and I am willing to abide by those lines in my favourite "Fasti:"

"Pro magnâ teste vetustas
Creditur; acceptam parce movere fidem⁵!"

ALETHES.

Do you mean to say, then, that Thomas à Becket never was at West Tarring? I thought he had introduced the fig there.

EUBULUS.

I am far from supposing that he was never here, and I make no doubt but that he brought the fig, and planted it, as the tradition of the place reports. But there is no *record* of his residence here, and the house which is called Becket's is also called the Rectory-house.

ALETHES.

Under such circumstances tradition, I think with you, is the best, certainly the most pleasing, record. But it was hardly likely that he should have resided here.

EUBULUS.

True! But it was a place for retirement, and there is sufficient evidence to show that the Archbishop of Canterbury did occasionally live for a while amongst the tenants of the see.

⁴ Defence of Poesy, p. 7.

⁵ Ovid, Fast., lib. iv. 203.

ALETHES.

I wish on some future occasion to make certain inquiries relative to the parish of West Tarring. But, in the mean while, what authority have you for the visits of an Archbishop?

EUBULUS.

The evidence is rather moral than demonstrative, but quite enough to show that Becket, like his predecessors and successors, might have come here occasionally, and have resided amongst his own people. I say his predecessors, advisedly, for we have it on record that "*Athelstun Rex dedit villam de Tarrynges sitam super mare in Suthsexam Ecclesie Christi in Doroberniâ.*" This is the earliest account I am aware of, and it is referred to, I perceive, in Mr. Cartwright's "History of the Rape of Bramber." His authorities are Somner's "History of Canterbury," and Dugdale's "Monasticon." The date, between A.D. 941 and A.D. 944.

ALETHES.

But to the point.

EUBULUS.

It is this. A trial took place in the year 1277, between Robert⁶, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Richard de Walleys, his tenant, whom he had disseised of two parts of the manor of Tarring for non-payment of rent. They were then held at the sum of 18*l.* per annum;—or, by quarterly payments in kind, (to be paid at Tarring,) after a certain rate, at the option of the Archbishop, he giving previous notice of such intention.

ALETHES.

You have made a case, at least, as the barristers say; and the date refers us back to the latter years of Edward I.

EUBULUS.

The MS. letter, from which I derive my information, is in the handwriting of the late Mr. Petré,—one well versed in antiquities. I believe he made the communication to Mr. Cartwright, whilst he was compiling his "History of the Rape of Bramber." But, as there is a difference, and as the matter is curious, I will read it to you at length.

⁶ Robert Kilwarby, the predecessor of John Peckham, both Franciscan friars.

"The articles to be furnished, and their prices, were found by inquest to be as follows: Every quarter of wheat was to be valued at 18*d.*,—of oats, at 8*d.*,—a carcase of beef at 16*d.*,—a yearling hog, at 8*d.*,—a carcase of mutton, at 4*d.*,—four gallons of beer, at 1*d.*,—two good hens, at 1*d.*,—five-score eggs, at 1*d.*,—wood, charcoal, litter, salt, earthen vessels, cups, dishes, and platters of wood, new, and in sufficient quantities, were to be furnished without payment; and the Archbishop might use such hay as was found on the premises without any charge.

"The claims of the Archbishop differ in some instances from those found by the inquest. He states, among other things, that he was to be supplied with four gallons of the best beer for one penny; and, if it was not good, the vessel might be staved, and a halfpenny or a penny allowed for the vessel; but the beer went for nothing. Two good geese for one penny,—four fat hens, one penny,—the first hundred of eggs, one penny,—the second hundred for nothing. Dishes, platters, salt-sellers, cups, spits, firewood, charcoal, salt, and pitchers new every day. Hay and litter gratis⁷."

ALETHES.

All such details are curious, and worth preserving. But of the old house, Eubulus, which we have so often visited,—that surely could not have been Becket's. Its architecture bewrays it.

EUBULUS.

Like other houses, it has undergone, no doubt, great alterations. Indeed, it is a question whether or not this was the manor-house of the Archbishop. That probably was contiguous to the church. At present, you know, it is a farm-house; and

⁷ For this and other documents I am indebted to the late Rector of Tarring, the Rev. William Vaux. In mentioning a sinecure Rector of Tarring, I should be sorry to forget that Strype held this preferment for twenty-six years. With reference to the prelates of Edward VI. and Elizabeth's reign, Southey beautifully observes, "Their vindication is to be found in their history, as it appears in the faithful compilations of good old John Strype, one of those humble and happy-minded men, who, by diligently labouring in the fields of literature, find, while they live, an enjoyment from which time takes away nothing of its relish, and secure for themselves an honourable and lasting remembrance in the gratitude of posterity." — *Vindicia Eccl. Angl.*, p. 360.

before it was stript of its old Horsham-stone, (but a year ago,) it had the sombre appearance of an ancient grange.

ALETHES.

The Horsham-stone roofing has a very picturesque appearance; and I must regret that, when the chancel was repaired, slate was substituted in the place of it. But I was told that it was a matter of necessity; and that at the time the Horsham-stone could not be procured. But to return to the Rectory-house, or, as it is called, Becket's Palace. What is the date of it?

EUBULUS.

It is usually put down to the time of Edward IV.; but whether correctly or not, I am quite unable to say. There is no doubt, however, but that the windows belong to what Rickman calls the perpendicular style, and which he says prevailed from the time of Richard II. to that of Henry VIII. All that now remains—the large room, whether hall or refectory,—and the so called chapel,—the latter forty feet by twenty-four, the former thirty-four by twenty-four—are beyond all doubt of a much later date than Becket's time,—likely enough the age may be that of Edward IV. But when the whole house is carefully examined, it will be found that it was formerly much larger. I suspect that there was an additional chamber beyond the hall; and the whole of the north side of the building shows that it was formerly what is called a double house. I think I can detect there evident remains of a communication between the north and south sides. The hall, no doubt, was open formerly to the roof. Where the entrance garden now is there were likewise buildings at some time or another; for, in forming it, some sixty years ago, the whole was discovered to be filled with the foundations of a bygone day. I have this account from the patriarch of the parish,—Daniel Monk, aged ninety-four,—who was present at the time. For forty-five years he kept a school in the old hall; and I am anxious it should now be made the parish school.

ALETHES.

The disposition of it might be worse. I recollect an old rhyme

on the outside of a school, between Oswestry and Shrewsbury, which (*mutatis mutandis*) I will leave you to apply :—

“ God prosper and prolong this public good,
A school erected where a cottage stood * ! ”

But I thought you told me that there were other houses attached to the old Rectory-house. Which are they ?

EUBULUS.

They are what are called the parsonage-rents, on your right hand, as you leave the croft ; and very remarkable houses they are. The old woodwork and gables are still prominent enough to attract the eyes of travellers. When they passed out of the hands of the Church is not known. They are of the date of Henry VI.

ALETHES.

I know them well. But tell me, what is that house on the left hand, as you leave the Rectory Croft ? It must originally have belonged, as the others do, to the manor.

EUBULUS.

“ Thereby hangs a tale ! ” It belongs to the Rectory-manor still, and might very lately have been re-purchased. But it is a manor within a manor ; and the property is copyhold, with a heriot of the best beast. Under such circumstances no one would purchase a mere cottage,—no one, I mean, who held the Rectory.

* TWO WAYS OF TELLING A FACT.—At the village of Nesseliff, near this town, a SCHOOL situated under the romantic spot known as “ Kynaston’s Cave,” the property of the Earl of Bradford, has long had this inscription upon its front :—

“ God prosper and prolong this Public Good,
A School erected where a Chapel stood.”

The explanation of this inscription is, we believe, that a Catholic Chapel was here changed into a Protestant School. But this week we have seen a very old book, in the possession of Mr. Blower, broker, Pride Hill, in this town*, in which the above-described transmutation of the Chapel into the School is accounted for in the following

EPIGRAM :

“ The ‘ CHAPEL ’’s use, it seems, was none so great :
They turn’d it to a ‘ SCHOOL ’—a mighty feat !
Preaching ’tis plain, nor Heart nor Head could mend,
So Learning’s now whipp’d in at t’other end.”

* i. e. Shrewsbury (the above is copied out of a Shrewsbury paper).

ALETHES.

Bnt what is the tale ?

EUBULUS.

Simply this. That cottage was the old *Brasinium*—*Brasin-huse*,—or, in more modern orthography,—the *Brazen-nose* of the rectorial manor. So that although the Archbishop laid claim to a supply of beer, he had a brewhouse of his own.

ALETHES.

The derivation of the word "*Brazen-nose*" never occurred to me before. The veritable nose, too, exists in Oxford, and at Stamford ; so that the corruption is perpetuated in brass⁹. Pray turn to one of those Common-place Books of yours, which I recollect your beginning to compile full twenty years ago. No doubt they contain something to the purpose.

EUBULUS.

Let those laugh that win, Alethes ! Many's the time those old Common-place Books help me out. The head, after a time, becomes a crazy storehouse, and needs an index. As some one has said, (I think it is Butler,) it is like a large house, which costs a great deal to furnish it, and a great deal to keep it in order when it is furnished !

ALETHES.

Mistake me not. Industry is never thrown away. Besides, what Horace calls "*lucidus ordo*," should be the aim of all who pretend to the title of scholarship or eloquence. You recollect his words :—

"Ordinis hæc virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici,
Pleraque differat, et præsens in tempus omittat ¹."

EUBULUS.

I do ; and will act upon them on the present occasion.

ALETHES.

Enlighten me, then !

⁹ So that the terms *Principale Donum*, before explained, and *Brasinium*, naturally call to our minds, THE PRINCIPAL OF BRASE-NOSE.

¹ Hor. A. P. v. 42.

EUBULUS.

If you turn to Kelham's "Norman Dictionary," you will find these words: "Brayes, breiz, bree, malt, bread, corn;" and in the "Selecta ex Domesday" of his "Domesday Book," illustrated,—"*Brasii tantū, the same quantity of malt*; and *Braziabat cujuscunque uxor x. From every man whose wife brewed, 10d.*" The inference is pretty clear, that *Bracium* means *malt*; *brasiare* to *brew*—*Brasinium*, a *malt*, or *brewhouse*,—i. e. a *brasin-huse*, corrupted into *Brazen-nose*, as it has been spelt of late years, instead of *Brase-nose*. You will find "*Bracium*" in Spelman's "Glossary;" and in the great work of Du Cange, in v. *Brace*, are the words which follow: "*Grani species ex quo Cerevisia conficitur:—Bracis meminit præterea Plinius, lib. 18, c. 7, 'Galliæ quoque suum genus farris dedere: quod illic brance vocant, apud nos sandalum, nitidissimi grani,'*"—where the learned author, with Turnebus and others, would read *Brace*. Presently after he goes on to say, "*In plerisque Flandriæ locis Brais appellatur granum omne, quodcunque illud sit, conficiendæ cerevisiæ destinatum et præparatum. Atque hinc Brasium, Brasina, et aliarum hujusmodi vocum, quæ labentibus sæculis crebrius reperiuntur, ut cæterarum ab eâ derivatarum, origo petenda.*" He then gives "*Bracina*," "*Bracena*," "*Brachinum*," "*Brasinium*." Cowel, likewise, in his "Law Dictionary," has *Brasinaria*. It is remarkable that neither Hoffman nor Martinius mention the word. The connexion of the French *Brasser*, and the German and Belgic terms is self-evident. Additional information will be found in Ihre's "Glossarium Suicogothicum in v. *Brygga*," and in Wachter's "Glossarium v. *Brauen*," who, by the way, shows that Martinius, though he did not give the word, gave what appertained to it under "*Braxo*." The reference is quite correct, as I verified it myself.

ALETHES.

My knowledge of "malt" would now, as Shakspeare says, "befit the spirit of a tapster!" But the corruption must be of ancient date, Eubulus.

EUBULUS.

It is, as you will find out, from that very nice book, "The Memorials of Oxford." I wonder Dr. Ingram, with his great

antiquarian lore, did not say something of the *word*. But, no doubt, he was afraid of making a large book.

ALETHES.

Likely enough ; for "a great book," says the ancient law, "is a great evil." But what does he say ?

EUBULUS.

He tells us that the corruption of *Brasin-huse* into *Brazen-nose* is as early as 1278, where it occurs in an Inquisition, now printed in the "Hundred Rolls," but which was quoted by Wood from the MS. record.

ALETHES.

But I thought Brazen-nose was erected in Henry VIII.'s time ?

EUBULUS.

So it was ; but, as the same authority informs us, on some of the most venerable property connected with the University. For Alfred is said to have built his palace adjoining to St. Mary's², called by himself, in his "Laws," "*The King's Hall*." Attached to this was the then important accommodation of a "*Brasinium*," or "*Brasin-huse*." On the site of this, and other halls, Brazen-nose was erected, and curiously enough retained the ancient name !

ALETHES.

The Limbo of Etymology is a dangerous one to be engulfed in ; but every now and then it throws up curious facts. It is even, as Horace says,—

"Mortalia facta peribunt

Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque

Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,

Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi³."

But I should have thought, Eubulus, there would have been more historical details appertaining to the old house.

² "Said to have been built by him, and annexed to the school, college, or university, which he founded or restored after the ravages of the Danes."—St. Mary the Virgin, p. 2.

³ Hor. A. P. v. 68.

EUBULUS.

All that is known refers rather to the parish than the house ; and I think you might have collected this from the dry detail of names contained in the MS. book I saw but now in your hands, "Papers relative to Tarring," &c. The different documents have been collected with some care ; but the information is scant enough.

ALETHES.

What did the old woman mean, when she said to us, as we were walking through the house, "This was where the wild beasts were kept."

EUBULUS.

There is an old tradition here that Becket kept wild beasts ; but it is known to few : and whence it originated is quite uncertain. It is very possible, however, that the Archbishop may have had some pet animals ; and to have kept a menagerie was not inconsistent with the age. Giraldus Cambrensis, as quoted by Lyttelton, tells us that Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, "had birds and beasts from all parts of the world ; a kind of magnificence which he seems to have taken from his uncle, King Henry I., who (as William of Malmesbury tells us) had an enclosure in his palace at Woodstock, where he kept a variety of rare animals, presented to him by foreign kings, at his own earnest request ; among which lions, leopards, lynxes, camels, and a porcupine, are mentioned by that historian ⁴."

ALETHES.

Certainly what one bishop did, another might do ; but methinks there was little room in that old house for much else than its inmates. They might have kept, perhaps, a monkey, or an ape,—"with foreheads villanous low ⁵,"—as Caliban dubs them ; but, I take it, a few sheep and some swine were more to their purpose. The old walls, I observe, Eubulus, are thickly sprinkled with that pretty plant—the Cotyledon Umbilicus.

EUBULUS.

None would understand you here, were you to speak of it so learnedly.

⁴ Lyttelton's Henry II., vol. ii. p. 334.

⁵ Tempest, Act iv. Sc. i.

ALETHES.

Navelwort, then, or nipplewort, shall I call it? It was formerly considered in some parts a sovereign remedy, I am told, for sore breasts.

EUBULUS.

I believe it was. It was a plant new to me when I came into this country; and all I can tell you about is what I read in John Gerarde of London, Master in Chirurgie, as enlarged and improved by T. Johnson: "The juyce of wall Penniwort," for so he calls it, "is a singular remedy against all inflammations, and hot tumours, or erysipelas, Saint Anthonie's fire, and such like; and it is good for kibed heeles, being bathed therewith, and one or more of the leaves laid upon the heele⁶." A good deal of it grows in these parts, as does likewise the Adder's-tongue Fern. I may add, by the way, that the *Osmunda Regalis* Fern, —that splendid plant,—was said to have been met with formerly in the Amberley brooks. It is mentioned in Gough's "Camden" amongst Sussex plants. You will recollect the lines of Wordsworth. They occur in his "Naming of Places:"—

" And often, trifling with a privilege
Alike indulged to all, we paused, now one
And now the other, to point out, perchance
To pluck, some flower or water-weed, too fair
Either to be divided from its place
On which it grew, or to be left alone
To its own beauty. Many such there are.
Fair Ferns and Flowers, and chiefly that tall Fern
So stately, of the Queen *Osmunda* named;
Plant lovelier, in its own retired abode,
On Grasmere's beach, than Naiad by the side
Of Grecian brook, or Lady of the Mere
Sole-sitting by the shores of old Romance."

ALETHES.

The lines are passing beautiful; and I never looked on that magnificent fern, without recalling them to my mind. I love to look on plants, and trees, and flowers; and am thankful for the

⁶ Gerarde's Herbal, p. 530. Ed. Folio. 1636.

beauties of the creation. Those lines in the old Frontispiece to Gerarde's "Herbal" quite take my fancy :—

"Excideretne tibi Divini muneris Auctor
Præsentem monstrat quælibet herba Deum!"

But as we are speaking of these things, inform me, will you, about the fig-trees at West Tarring. You said, awhile ago, you had no doubt but that the tradition was true, which ascribed the introduction of them here to Becket. Now, I was under the impression that Cardinal Pole introduced them in the reign of Henry VIII., and that the identical trees still survived in the gardens of the Archbishop at Lambeth.

EUBULUS.

Those trees, I believe, though injured considerably in the severe winter of 1813-14, still exist; and they were brought from Italy by Cardinal Pole. They are of the white Marseilles sort, as was that planted at Mitcham by Archbishop Cranmer. But there is every reason to believe that figs were grown in this country long previous to this. Some even think they were introduced by the Romans; but I know of no authority for the supposition.

ALETHES.

The vine, I suspect, was more frequently cultivated here than the fig.

EUBULUS.

No doubt. And yet it scarcely seems to fare now so well with the vine as with the fig. Formerly the vineyard was a common name, even in the midland counties,—in Shropshire, for example, one or two spots bore that appellation,—whereas now the propagation of the grape-vine has evidently deteriorated, whilst that of the fig has increased, and no doubt would increase still, were there a taste for the green fruit. But the taste for it is by no means common: and it is thought, like that for the olive, to be fictitious. Old Gerarde had clearly no notion of standard figs producing the luscious fruit they do in the gardens of West Tarring, Broadwater, and Sompting. His words show it. "The fig-trees," says he, "grow plentifully in Spaine and Italy, and many other countries, as in England, where they bear fruit; but it

never cometh to kindly maturity, except the tree be planted under an hot wall, whereto neither north nor north-east windes can come."

ALETHES.

He clearly thought the climate too cold to ripen the fruit.

EUBULUS.

That, however, we know is not the case. Indeed, I well recollect a very beautiful fig-tree which bore fruit out of doors in the King of Denmark's gardens at Copenhagen. It was trained, I should remark, to a wall, and had the reflection of the glass hard-by. But the fact is sufficient to show that the fig will bear cold, though it suffer by it.

ALETHES.

What are the figs that grow with you?

EUBULUS.

In general cultivation we have but five sorts:—the brown Turkey; the large blue, sometimes called the black Ischian; the Marseilles, or large white fig, which is also called by the name of Madagascar, an easy corruption; the larger green, and the beautiful smooth green, or yellow Ischian. The last mentioned is a very shy bearer, but the most luscious of the three. I am inclined to think that the red fig, which King James "tasted with great pleasure," in the Dean's garden, at Winchester, was none other than the last mentioned, as I have seen it in a very fine season, and when full ripe, change from green to yellow, and from yellow to a sort of brick colour.

ALETHES.

That may or may not be, as the sorts are very numerous. I think I have read that Miller introduced some twelve new ones from Italy. But although, Eubulus, I have eat many of your excellent figs, it is little I know either of the blossom or the fructification. Are there any male flowers?

EUBULUS.

Loudon, in his "Encyclopædia of Gardening," states the matter in a few words: "The fruit is a berry, turbinate and hollow within; produced chiefly on the upper part of the shoots

of the former year, in the axils of the leaves on small round peduncles. The flower is produced within the fruit; what is considered as the fruit being a common calyx or receptacle: the male flowers are few, and inserted near the opening in the extremity of the receptacle or fruit; the female flowers are very numerous, and fill the rest of the hollow space within. The greater part prove abortive, both with and without the process of caprification."

ALETHES.

Very clearly put. Many ignoramuses, like myself, are much indebted to Loudon. The volumes are ponderous, but useful. But now that I have learnt thus much, I should like to know what is the process of caprification. Is it used here?

EUBULUS.

It takes its name from the "*caprificus*," or wild fig, which we have not. Mr. Addison, in his "Damascus and Palmyra," gives as plain an account of this, as Loudon does of the blossom and fruit. His words are: "There is a species of bastard fig, tasteless and good for nothing, which grows along the hedges, and which breeds a small maggot, or some species of insect; these bastard figs are stuck on the trees which produce the eating fig, and the maggots or insects bred in them inoculate all the other figs, and wonderfully improve their flavour and lusciousness⁷."

ALETHES.

Bravo! Old Herodotus was right after all. You recollect, no doubt, what he says of the date-trees' fructification; and how he draws a comparison between the palm and the fig.

EUBULUS.

Herodotus, when he spoke of what came under his own ob-

⁷ Mr. Addison speaks of what is done in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. See vol. i. p. 362. Loudon says, I observe: "*The process of caprification of figs is performed in the Levant to hasten the maturity of the autumnal crop, and consists in placing on the fig-trees what are called figues fleurs, or spring figs, in which a certain insect of the gnat species (Culex L.) has deposited its eggs. From these eggs, in the spring figs, proceed a multitude of gnats, which, in their turn, deposit their eggs in the autumn figs, or rather in their flowers, effecting in their passage the fecundation of these flowers, and, by consequence, hastening the maturity of the fruit,*" p. 963.

servation, was seldom wrong. Modern discoveries have only tended to prove his accuracy. Even as regards the palm, Lieutenant Wellsted tells us that the custom is retained in Arabia, though neglected now in the East, as it is found enough to plant one male amongst several female trees⁸.

ALETHES.

But, is not the custom or process of caprification also thought now to be useless?

EUBULUS.

By many it is; but no doubt the larva of the cynips hastens the ripening of later figs. So now, at Argenteuil, near Paris, where figs are grown particularly for the table, the later ones are hastened by dropping a little oil into the eye of each fruit. It serves the purpose of the grub, or maggot. I have likewise known oil to be used here; but few think it worth their while to trouble themselves much about their figs; and a "*Fig for you*," taken in its literal acceptation, would not imply deep regard. Some, you know, think the expression derived from the Portuguese hand-spell, called the *figa*⁹. It might be so, just as we have that unsavoury word "*tody*" from "*todito*,"—the little Moorish black page,—the *all in all* with her mistress.

ALETHES.

The derivation I think quite as likely as that which refers it to the poisoned fig. The other senses, I recollect, are given in Douce's "*Illustrations of Shakspeare*;" but I quite agree with Gifford, in his "*Note*" on Ben Jonson,—"*Every Man in his Humour*,"—that too much has been said on a subject better left

⁸ Lieutenant Wellsted's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 12. The words of Herodotus occur in lib. i. c. 193. Εἰσὶ δὲ σφὶ φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον· οἱ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· τοὺς σικίων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροις τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίγῃ τέ σφὶ ὁ ψῆν τὴν βίλανον ἐσθύνων, καὶ μὴ ἀποβρέγῃ ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος. Ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορίουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰπερ δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοί.

⁹ "The hand-spell is still common in Portugal; it is called the *figa*; and thus probably our vulgar phrase: '*a fig for him*,' is derived from a Moorish amulet." Southey. *Notes to Thalaba*.

alone. One may be contented to call it, with the dramatist, Middleton,—

“The fig of everlasting obloquy ¹!”

EUBULUS.

When I first became a denizen of this county, Alethes, nothing could exceed, on a hot summer's day, the solemn beauty of the fig-garden at West Tarring. Before the severe winter, some six or seven years ago, which destroyed the Gothic arch of the middle walk, its shade was awful and imposing. It seemed,—

“The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renowned,
But such as at this day to Indian known
In Malabar or Deccan, spread her arms,
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
High overarch'd, and echoing walks between;
There oft the Indian herdsman shunning heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
At loopholes cut through thickest shade ².”

ALETHES.

Ben Jonson, methinks, in “Neptune's Triumph,” was beforehand with Milton. The volume is hard-by; and I can turn to it:—

“Yes we have a tree, too,
Which we do call the tree of Harmony,
And is the same with what we read the sun
Brought forth in the Indian Musicana first.

¹ The Widow, Act v. Sc. i.

² See “Paradise Lost,” book x. v. 1101. But Sir Walter Raleigh's own description is most valuable. Cf. Works, vol. ii. p. 132. Ed. Clar. The words of Pliny will naturally be referred to, lib. xii. c. 5: “Ficus ibi exilia poma habet. Ipsa se semper serens, vastis diffunditur ramis: quorum imi adeò in terram curvantur, ut annuo spatio infigantur, novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem in orbem, quodam opere topiario. Intra sepem eam æstivant pastores, opacam pariter et munitam vallo arboris, decorâ specie subterintuenti, proculve, fornicato ambitu. Superiores ejus rami in excelsum emicant, silvosâ multitudine, vasto matris corpore, ut lx. p. pleræque orbem colligant, umbrâ vero bina stadia operiant. Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet: eâ causâ fructum integens, crescere prohibet. Rarusque est, nec fabæ magnitudinem excedens, dignus miraculo arboris: igitur circa Accesinem maximè ænnem.”

And thus it grows : the goodly bole being got
 To certain cubits height, from every side
 The boughs decline, and taking root afresh,
 Spring up new boles, and these spring new, and newer,
 Till the whole tree become a porticus,
 Or arched arbor, able to receive
 A numerous troop, such as our Albion,
 And the companions of his journey all ;
 And this they sit in³."

EUBULUS.

The passage of Jonson I am familiar with ; but the multifarious readings of Milton lead him to a different source. The truth is he copied even the very expressions of Gerarde's "*Herbal*," the first edition of which dates from 1597. The date of Thomas Johnson, "*To the Reader*," is from his house, on Snow-hill, 1633. I quote from the edition of 1636. It is thus that he describes the arched Indian fig-tree :—

"This rare and admirable tree is very great, straight, and covered with a rich old bark, tending to tawny : the boughes and branches are many, very long, tough, and flexible, growing very long in short space, as do the twigs of oziars, and those so long and weake, that the ends thereof hang down and touch the ground, where they take root, and grow in such sort, that those twigs become great trees ; and these being growne up into the like greatnesse, doe cast their branches on twiggy tendrels unto the earth, where they likewise take hold and root ; by means whereof it commeth to passe, that of one tree is made a great wood or desart of trees, which the Indians do use for coverture against the extreme heat of the sun, wherewith they are grievously vexed : some likewise use them for pleasure, cutting down by a direct line a long walke, or, as it were, a vault, through the thickest part, from which they cut also certain loop-holes or windowes in some places, to the end to receive thereby the fresh coole aire that entreth thereat, as also for light, that they may see their cattel that feed thereby, to avoid any danger that might happen unto them, either by the enemy or wild beasts ; from which vault or close walke doth rebound

³ Neptune's Triumph for the return of Albion, vol. viii. p. 30. Ed. Gifford.

such an admirable eccho or answering voice, if one of them speak unto another of them aloud, that it doth resound or answer again four or five times, according to the height of the voice, to which it doth answer, and that so plainly, that it cannot be known from the voice itself: the first or mother of this wood or desert of trees is hard to be knowne from the children, but by the greatnesse of the body, which three men can scarcely fathom about; upon the branches whereof grow leaves hard and wrinkled, in shape like those of the quince-tree, greene above, and of a whitish hoary colour underneath, whereupon the elephants delight to feed: among which leaves come forth the fruit, of the bignesse of a man's thumbe, in shape like a small fig, but of a sanguine or bloody colour, and of a sweet taste, but not so pleasant as the figs of Spain; notwithstanding they are good to be eaten, and withal very wholesome⁴."

ALETHES.

Certainly, the very words of Milton may be traced to Gerarde, and I have to thank you for this, as for other endless references.

EUBULUS.

Were I better read than I am, I doubt not I should find that others have made the like observation. But far be it from me to say, "Pereant, qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!" I shall never forget the face one pulled when the good Bishop Butler quoted to him this expression on his showing up, for a second copy, an Eclogue from Sannazarius. I had lent him the book too! As you know I am fond of Sannazarius and Casimir. From the latter, as I well recollect, one of the best scholars of the present day put into his *Alcaics* "*herbarum lacertis*." The same lamented Prelate, in altering it into "*herbarum corollis*," only observed, "*Cabbage leaves are not very poetical!*"

ALETHES.

Rambling again, Eubulus! But I will refer to Lucilius once more, and say, from my heart,

"Cum flueret lutulentus erat quod tollere velles!"

⁴ Gerarde's Herbal, p. 1513. Ed. Johnson.

Referring, however, to the Indian fig, I know of no poet's description equal to that of Southey's in the "Curse of Kehama."

EUBULUS.

True, true! He read to me the whole of that,—shall I say, the greatest effort of his genius? and I never can forget it! The intonations of that sweetest of all sweet and solemn voices are still ringing in my ears!

“ 'Twas a fair scene wherein they stood,
A green and sunny glade amid the wood,
And in the midst an aged Banian grew.
It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree,
For o'er the lawn, irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,
Straight, like a plummet, grew towards the ground.
Some on the lower boughs which crost their way
Fixing their bearded fibres, round and round,
With many a ring and wild contortion wound;
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swung:
Others of younger growth, unmov'd, were hung,
Like stone drops from the cavern's fretted height;
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight,
Nor weeds, nor briars deform'd the natural floor,
And through the leafy cope which bower'd it o'er
Came gleams of chequer'd light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer⁵!”

ALETHES.

Beautiful, indeed! No wonder that the traveller from the East, when at Keswick, would not believe that the poet had not visited the scenes he sang of, and the land of Brama, Veeshnoo, and Seeva. Thalaba, methinks, is the “wild and wondrous tale,” Eubulus, but you are right, probably, in calling the “Curse of Kehama” the greatest work of that master-spirit. His staff is

⁵ The Retreat, xiii. 5.

broke, but the book's not drowned⁶! I once heard a person, with an o'erwrought brain, read the funeral. When he came to these words, which he said had no equal in English descriptive poetry, the lightning of his eye quite frightened me, for I was then but a boy.

“ Borne upright in his palankeen
There Arvalan is seen!
A glow is on his face—a lively red;
It is the crimson canopy
Which o'er his cheek a reddening shade hath shed;
He moves,—he nods his head,—
But the motion comes from the bearers' tread,
As the body, borne aloft in state,
Sways with the impulse of its own dead weight!”

EUBULUS.

But to return, Alethes, to what we were speaking of, the introduction of the fig into these parts by Thomas à Becket. You must admit, I think, that the clergy were the civilizers, in feudal times, at least, of whatever spot they pitched their tents in.

ALETHES.

There can be no doubt of it, if you comprehend the monks in the number of the clergy.

EUBULUS.

That would be incorrect; but I will say that wherever the monks, whether clerical or lay brethren, were settled, there agriculture and horticulture presently improved. I speak not at present of their abuse, but of their use, when I say that this land is infinitely indebted to monks and monasteries. Some years ago many would have shuddered at such an admission, but the fact is not to be denied.

ALETHES.

There is one, amongst many others, who bore testimony to this truth, and his words deserve to be well remembered.

⁶ “ I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I'll drown my book!”—*Tempest*, Act v. Sc. i.

EUBULUS.

Whom do you refer to?

ALETHES.

To Southey, in his "Book of the Church." You cannot have forgotten the passage I allude to. It is in c. iv., where he speaks of the success of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons: "They well deserved their popularity. Wherever monasteries were founded, marshes were drained, or woods cleared, and wastes brought into cultivation; the means of subsistence were increased by improved agriculture, and by improved horticulture new comforts were added to life. The humblest as well as the highest pursuits were followed in these great and most beneficial establishments. While part of the members were studying the most inscrutable points of theology, and indulging themselves in logical subtleties of psychological research which foster the presumption of the human mind instead of convincing it of its weakness, others were employed in teaching babes and children the rudiments of useful knowledge; others as copyists, limners, carvers, workers in wood, and in stone, and in metal, and in trades and manufactures of every kind, which the community required⁷."

EUBULUS.

The testimony is just, and none was more competent to render it. But the truth is, Alethes, that the testimony is very general, only there was a sort of tacit agreement with all sorts of people to forget it.

ALETHES.

It is curious that in earlier days the monks should have settled themselves so generally in marshes and fen districts—such as were Medhamstead (the modern Peterborough), Crowland, Ramsey, Boston, Ely, &c. It was with the monks of the latter that Canute was so struck.

"Cheerful sang the monks of Ely
As Cnut the King was passing by;
Row to the shore, knights, said the king,
And let us hear these Churchmen sing!"

⁷ Vol. i. p. 61. 1st Edit.

EUBULUS.

When the land was beset with marauders it was an object to find places for security. Seclusion and security went together.

ALETHES.

You have an instance, I think, not far off. Herbert, Becket's Secretary, was of Bosham, in Sussex, was he not?

EUBULUS.

He was; but Boseham^{*} would hardly appear to have been a place of such security, as you imagine. At that time, however, it was enveloped in wood (from which it probably derived its name), and it may have been a safer place of refuge than I at first thought. But Boseham should be recollected here for other reasons. It was the retreat of the banished Wilfrid, whose name will ever be associated with that of Ripon. But Wilfrid, like Becket, was ambitious,—like him, too, (and it seems to have been the earliest instance prior to the Conquest,) he endeavoured to use the Pope's authority in opposition to King Egfrid, and the Church of his native land. But the Bull of St. Peter had no weight with the Saxon King, who committed him prisoner, first to Brunton, and afterwards to Dunbar. St. Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, the king's aunt, procured his release, but he was not allowed to remain in the North, and was driven out likewise from Mercia and Wessex. But with all Wilfrid's infirmities, like Becket, he seems to have been a religious-hearted man and sincere. It was evidently under devout impressions, that he betook himself to labour amongst the South Saxons. This was A.D. 681. He found them all but pagans, for although their King Ethelwalch had been baptized by the persuasion of King Wulfhere, who, as his godfather, gave him the Isle of Wight and the province of Meanwara, yet as Bede

^{*} Camden relates how Godwin, Earl of Kent, father of Harold, cheated the Archbishop out of Bosham, and how that cunning word-catcher was pleased to confound *Boseham* for *Basium* "the Kiss of Peace." The latter the Archbishop was ready to give, but he little thought of surrendering the former. The authority stated is Walter Map's book *de Nugis Curialium* (?).—Sussex, p. 185. Ed. Gough and Gibson.

reports, *tota provincia Australium Saxonum divini nominis et fidei erat ignara*⁹.

ALETHES.

So that Wilfrid's ambition was turned to good, and the first seeds of the bishopric of Chichester were sown at Bosenham !

"There is a Divinity that shapes our ends
Rough-hew them how we will !"

EUBULUS.

Always and ever ! But it was little that he found there to cheer him. "Erat autem ibi," continues Bede, "monachus quidam de natione Scotorum, vocabulo Dicul, habens *monasteriorum permodicum* in loco, qui vocatur Bosanham, silvis et mari circumdatum, et in eo fratres quinque sive sex in humili et paupere vitâ Domino famulantes. *Sed provincialium nullus eorum vel vitam æmulari vel prædicationem curabat audire.*"

ALETHES.

I was glad the other day to see on your table an Edition of Bede. The study of Bede's works should by all means be encouraged. There is a translation, I observed, of the Ecclesiastical History. Read the remnant of the chapter you have now referred to in Smith. It will serve as a sample, and I recollect it to be simple and interesting.

EUBULUS.

The translation is not a new one, as you seem to suppose, but the old translation of Steven's revised,—“corrected,” the Editor says, without scruple, “wherever it was necessary.” Here, however, is the passage you require. It is long, but it ought not to tire on the ear of a Sussex person.

⁹ Fridegode, in his metrical “Life of Wilfred,” says pretty much the same. See Biog. Brit. Lit., vol. i. p. 178, note.

“Gens igitur quædam, scopulosis indita terris,
Saltibus incultis et densis consita damis,
Non facilem propriis aditum præbebat in arvis :
Gens ignara Dei, simulacris dedita vanis.”

¹ Hamlet, Act v.

² John Steven's Translation was published, London, 8vo. 1723, and again in 1840, constituting vol. i. of the Monkish Historians of Great Britain. The present passage is from book iv. c. xiii. vol. iii. p. 61.

“ But Bishop Wilfrid by preaching to them, not only delivered them from the misery of perpetual damnation, but also from an inexpressible calamity of temporal death, for no rain had fallen in that province in three years before his arrival, whereupon a dreadful famine ensued, which cruelly destroyed the people. In short, it is reported, that very often forty or fifty men being spent with want, would go together to some precipice, or to the sea-shore, and there hand in hand perish by the fall, or be swallowed up by the waves. But on the very day on which the nation received the baptism of faith, there fell a soft but plentiful rain ; the earth revived again, and the verdure being restored to the fields, the season was pleasant and fruitful. Thus the former superstition being rejected, and idolatry exploded, the hearts and flesh of all rejoiced in the living God, and became convinced that He, who is the true God, had, through his heavenly grace, enriched them with wealth, both temporal and spiritual. For the bishop, when he came into the province, and found so great misery from famine, taught them to get their food by fishing ; for their sea and rivers abounded with fish, but the people had no skill to take them, except eels alone. The bishop’s men having gathered eel-nets every where, cast them into the sea, and by the blessing of God took three hundred fishes of several sorts, which, being divided into three parts, they gave a hundred to the poor, a hundred to those of whom they had the nets, and kept a hundred for their own use. By this benefit the Bishop gained the affections of them all, and they began more readily at his preaching to hope for heavenly goods, seeing that by his help they had received those which are temporal.

“ At this time King Ethelwalch gave to the most reverend Prelate, Wilfrid, land of eighty-seven families, to maintain his company who were in banishment, which place is called Selescu³, that is, the Island of the Sea-Calf. That place is encompassed by the sea on all sides except the west, where is an entrance of about the cast of a sling in width ; which sort of place is by the

³ It was here that the Saxons landed on their first expedition to take possession of the south-western region of Britain. Eadbrecht, Abbot of Selsey in 711, was the first Bishop of the South Saxons. The See was removed by William the Conqueror to Chichester in 1075. Stigand, the last Bishop of Selsey, was the first of Chichester.

Latins called a peninsula, by the Greeks, a chersonesus. Bishop Wilfrid having this place given him, founded therein a monastery, which his successors possess to this day, and established a regular course of life, chiefly of the brethren he had brought with him; for he both in word and actions performed the duties of a bishop in those parts, during the space of five years, until the death of King Egfrid. And forasmuch as the aforesaid king, together with the said place, gave him all the goods that were therein, with the lands and men, he instructed them in the faith of Christ, and baptized them all. Among whom were two hundred and fifty men and women slaves, all of whom he, by baptism, not only rescued from the servitude of the Devil, but gave them their bodily liberty also, and exempted them from the yoke of human servitude."

ALETHES.

Every thing appertaining to Bede is interesting, and his "Ecclesiastical History" is invaluable. Properly has he been called "the light and wonder of his age." Bede is to his native land what Herodotus was to the Greeks—and there is this remarkable similarity between them, I mean, that when they spoke from their own observation, they were seldom wrong. I would apply this to the many marvellous histories and miracles which he details. He tells them as they were told to him. But Southey has dwelt upon this in his "*Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,"—an unlucky title, I think, as it has deterred many from reading it, whereas it is one of the most interesting and painfully delightful books in our language. He there asks of Mr. Butler, "How will you explain the singular fact, that though his '*Ecclesiastical History*,' and the biographies which he drew up from materials which were supplied to him, are full of miraculous stories, the lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth, under whom and with whom he had lived, and which he composed therefore upon his own knowledge and responsibility, have no such garnish?"

EUBULUS.

The remark speaks for the solid good sense of Venerable Bede, and does not at all detract from his piety. But in returning to

⁴ *Vindiciæ Eccl. Angl.* p. 113.

the observation I before made, I may add that we are deeply indebted to the Anglo-Saxon monasteries in particular.

ALETHES.

And yet, after all, the Anglo-Saxons were not a literary people. We have the authority also of Alfred for the fact, that he did not know a single priest south of Thames, who, at his accession, understood his breviary, or could render Latin into his mother tongue. Kings signed charters with a cross⁵, because they were unable to write. Nay, Alfred's own brothers could not read, and we are told that he compelled his great officers to become, what Jeremy Taylor calls ABCdearii, or otherwise they would lose their places. The simple truth is that our charity children are now better taught and better informed than the earls, gerefas, and thegns of that day.

EUBULUS.

Admitted. And a great blessing it is, however much abused. But this does not detract from what I said, for the clergy were the only teachers of those who sought to learn. Neither is there any proof that our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were unintellectual. Sharon Turner, the laborious historian of these times, has some excellent remarks which I should like to read to you.

ALETHES.

He is a good man, as well as a learned, and I would fain hear them.

EUBULUS.

"We have estimated them too low, because we have too highly appreciated the general condition of Roman society, and too much compared our forefathers with ourselves. Absence of literature has been too often mistaken for absence of intellect. It is usually forgotten that illiteracy has been the general character of the mass of all people, whether Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, as much as of the Goths or Anglo-Saxons. In the most celebrated countries of antiquity it was a portion only, and that but a small one, of their population which possessed either books or

⁵ Sharon Turner tells us that "in a MS. charter of Wikfred, in the possession of the late Mr. Astle, to the King's mark was added, 'ad cujus confirmationem pro ignorantia literarum.'" vol. iii. p. 15, note.

literature. It is only in our own times that these are becoming the property of nations at large. When our Anglo-Saxons applied to literature, they showed the strength of their intellectual powers, and a rapidity of progress that has never been surpassed. Bede, Alcuin, and Erigena may be compared with any of the Roman or Greek authors, who appeared after the third century. But that within an hundred years after knowledge, for the first time, dawned upon the Anglo-Saxons, such a man as Bede should have arisen, writing so soundly on every branch of study that had been pursued by the Romans, and forming in his works a kind of Cyclopædia of almost all that was then known, is a phænomenon which it is easier to praise than parallel⁶."

ALETHES.

The distinction drawn between literature and intellect is sound, and I confess that I myself am much rather inclined to assent to Sharon Turner than to Mr. Hallam, who, I think, in his *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, over-much depreciated the literature of the time.

EUBULUS.

I think so too; but, as you have referred to the work of an acknowledged historical scholar, you will not forget that what he says fully corroborates my statement. We may agree to differ as to the darkness of the Middle Ages,—though even on this point many are now running into the contrary extreme,—but I quite concur in his opinion when he states that "the sole hope for literature depended on the Latin language; and I do not see why that should not have been lost, if that circumstances in the prevailing religious system, all of which we are justly accustomed to disapprove, had not conspired to maintain it; the papal supremacy, the *monastic institutions*, and the use of a Latin Liturgy⁷."

ALETHES.

I really had forgotten this remark, but it is very just, and I am afraid many of us are little aware how much we owe to the labours of the monastery. However depraved these institutions may have become in after times, it was the *regular* and not the

⁶ Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 393.

⁷ Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 336. 4th Edit.

secular clergy who were the repositories of learning, as their houses were the repositories of books.

EUBULUS.

When we speak of the restoration of learning in this land, we must never omit to mention with honour Theodore of Tarsus, and Adrian the African. The former, you will recollect, was Archbishop of Canterbury for many years. Adrian declined the post, but recommended his friend to the Pope, and afterwards accompanied him to England. Theodore appointed him to the monastery of St. Peter at Canterbury, which he held for thirty-nine years. It is Bede that tells the good they did, and how that became the seat of learning. Some of their scholars were alive in his time, and were as conversant with Greek and Latin as with their mother tongue.

ALETHES.

There is another name which Bede would ill like us to forget—that, I mean, of Benedict Biscop, whom Pope Vitalian nominated as linguist to Theodore. It was the same that founded the after-joined monasteries of St. Peter and St. Paul, between the mouths of the Wear and the Tyne—or, as sometimes called, the Abbey of Weremouth, now Monks Wearmouth, and Jarrow. But who can tell of him like Southey? “This Benedict Biscop, who was in process of time canonized, and who deserves to be gratefully remembered among the benefactors of our nation, was the person to whom the child Bede was delivered. Had it not been for Bede we should not now have known for what we are indebted to Benedict; and for nothing are we so greatly beholden to him as for having provided his monasteries with those literary treasures (in his days beyond all price), without which Bede could have had no means of instruction. Without those means the talents of this wonderful man must have remained unimproved, and that large portion of the Anglo-Saxon history which is derived from him would have been lost. Benedict transferred the boy to Ceolfrid, the Abbot of Jarrow, and from that monastery Bede never departed during the whole course of his long, innocent, and meritorious life.”

³ *Vindiciæ Eccles. Angl.*, p. 72.

EUBULUS.

Happy in his seclusion as the old man of Verona Claudian tells of. And I ought to remark, Alethes, that none spoke more painfully of the idleness in monasteries than Bede did. His letter to Bishop Egbert, "*de Disciplinâ Ecclesiasticâ*," should be carefully read by such as would detract from his name, or speak of his idle seclusion. One passage I will read to you in the original: "*Sunt loca innumera, ut novimus omnes, in monasteriorum ascripta vocabulum, sed nihil prorsus monasticæ conversationis habentia; è quibus velim aliqua de luxuriâ ad castitatem, de vanitate ad temperantiam, de intemperantiâ ventris et gulæ ad continentiam et pietatem cordis, synodicâ auctoritate transferantur, atque in adjutorium sedis episcopalis, quæ nuper ordinari debeat, assumantur*."⁹

ALETHES.

It appears, then, that even Bede recommended what Henry VIII. afterwards put in practice!

EUBULUS.

If one could assign to Henry the righteous views which influenced Bede, another blot might be rubbed out of his character. But I am afraid we shall never be enabled to do this. Looking to the spoliation and lavish expenditure which followed, and that with little or no thought for sacred uses, the very stones and timbers might have cried out, and each house might have lifted up its voice, and said,

"Non te dignum, Chærea,
Fecisti: nam si ego digna hâc contumeliâ
Sum maxumè, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen¹."

ALETHES.

Sadly true! But such is ever the result of evil communications, and it is not to be denied that there was great licentiousness, and all sorts of iniquity practised within the walls of many a monastery. Idolatry, likewise, and pious frauds of every sort were rife. But, would that one might have said, "*Take away*

⁹ See vol. i. p. 124. Ed. Giles. The Editor has given a Translation of the whole letter.

¹ Terent Eun., v. ii. 25.

the dross from the silver ; and there shall come forth a vessel for the finer. Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness²." Alas, that it was not so !

EUBULUS.

The slothful is like ere long to become the wicked servant, and this was certainly the case in very many of the monasteries, abbeys, and priories. But we must bear in mind that when the King's determination was known, the harpies of the court were ready to gulp down gnats and camels indiscriminately. We have all the worst cases painted in glowing colours, such as for example, the case of the Abbot of Langden, whose door Dr. Leighton, Burnet tells us, beset and broke open of a sudden³.

ALETHES.

That was unquestionably a glaring case. You are not likely to have forgotten that our friend the Archbishop had a name there.

EUBULUS.

"They were of the order of Premonstré, and their house was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and St. Thomas Becket." They are the words of Burnet.

ALETHES.

Burnet, and good old John Strype⁴, (as he is well called,) have left us painful details ; but, after all, such confessions as that of the Prior and Benedictines of St. Andrew's in Northampton, are to be received *cum grano salis*. No doubt they were bad enough, but I cannot help thinking that they were looking to the number of marks they were to be pensioned off with when they declared "the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up." The rest, I dare say, is true enough. "They confessed that they had neglected the worship of God, lived in idleness, gluttony, and sensuality :

² Prov. xxv. 4, 5.

³ See "History of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 384. Ed. Clar. 8vo. 1829. See the other case, p. 475.

⁴ They are the words of Southey, and spoken from the heart : "Good old John Strype, one of those humble and happy-minded men, who, by diligent labouring in the fields of literature, find while they live, an enjoyment from which time takes away nothing of its relish, and secure for themselves an honourable and lasting remembrance in the gratitude of posterity."—*Vindiciæ Eccles. Angl.*, p. 360.

with many other woeful expressions to that purpose." But, whatever may have been the state of religious houses in general, their utter dissolution was an unquestionable evil, and as such regretted by good and honest men.

EUBULUS.

Such as Maister Hugh Latimer, whose name shall endure ! When in Oxford, Alethes, I used to make an annual visit to some of the dearest and kindest relatives at Malvern, and I never gazed upon the reverend pile there, without thinking of that holy man departed. I was early familiar with his history, and loved his character. His drollery was nowise inconsistent with his true-heartedness. I much pity those who can call either him or old Fuller buffoon. You recollect the question of Penneboy, junior, in the "Staple of News;" I would ask of such,

*"What are your present clerk's habilities?
How is he qualified?"*

ALETHES.

Let that pass, Eubulus. The declaimers against such men as Latimer or Fuller, only follow a bad school. The very word they use is not their own. But say, what did Latimer at Great Malvern?

EUBULUS.

At the solicitation of the honest prior there, "in my diocese, but not of my diocese," as he says, he wrote to the Lord Cromwell, with the intent, if possible, to save the dissolution of the house. In his own words, "for the upstanding of his foresaid house, of the continuance of the same to many good purposes: not in monkery, he meaneth: not so, God forbid: but any other way, as should be thought and seem good to the King's Majesty. As to maintain, touching preaching, study with praying, and (to the which he is much given) good house-keeping. For to the virtue of hospitality he hath been greatly inclined from his beginning, and is very much commended in these parties for the same." To which he presently adds: "The man is old; a good house-keeper; feedeth many, and that daily. For the country is poor and full of penury. And, alas! my good Lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy^s?"

^s Strype's Memorials Eccl., under King Henry VIII., vol. i. part i. p. 400.

ALETHES.

Just like the honest, but expressively simple, earnestness of the constant martyr of Christ ! There were, we know, very many who thought with him, and would have sacrificed much to have retained some remnant of the schools and the hospitality of the religious. I have heard of more instances than one, (during the formation of the Railway to Winchester,) where the dole of bread and beer, reduced as it is almost to a name, was most beneficially imparted at the door of the Holy Cross hard by. Would that such a foundation were in hands that might restore the noble edifice, now so miserably bedaubed with whitewash within and without, to somewhat like its ancient intent ! I could wish no better preferment, were I a minister of the Gospel ! The dole should not be indiscriminate, but it should be “a place of alms” still⁶. I could wish no more beautiful Posy than that from Herrick’s “Thanksgiving to God, for his house ;” and, as my short means will allow, I think on’t to do the like.

“ Low is my porch, as is my fate ;
 Both void of state ;
 And yet the threshold of my doore,
 Is worn by the poore ;
 Who thither come and freely get
 Good words or meat⁷.”

EUBULUS.

Those are touching lines, Alethes ;—much like to the “touching preaching” in old Latimer’s letter, misunderstood, I think, by Burnet. But Holy Cross, my friend, was more lucky than Godstow, for which the gentry of Oxfordshire interceded in vain, unto which house, says one, “the young gentlewomen of the country were sent to be bred.” The Hospital, hard by Winchester (valued at 184*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*), was exempted from dissolution in Henry’s time, though it suffered much during the civil wars.

ALETHES.

It remains, true enough, till the present day, but I cannot think the intentions of the founder fulfilled. We had occasion to mention the name of Henry de Blois, Stephen’s brother, before.

⁶ The allusion is to the words of Cardinal Beaufort,—*Domus Eleemosynaria Nobilis Paupertatis*.

⁷ See Herrick’s *Noble Numbers*, vol. ii. p. 216. Ed. Pick.

His intent was munificent; and the *Hundred-mennes-hall* still bespeaks his praise. But, sooth to say, the loaf and the three quarts of ale for the poorest men in the city of Winchester, are now dwindled into nothing. The brethren still remain—doles on certain days are still distributed, together with a horn of ale and a slice of bread each day as it comes—*within due limits*;—but the spirit of charity which enlivened the Hospital is departed! The Master is not on the spot to look to the interests of the holy ground! The corruption, I remember, began early. Henry de Blois, the founder, appointed the Master and Brethren of St. John of Jerusalem to be guardians and administrators of the charity, and they misappropriated the revenues. And misappropriation has gone on, though Richard Toelyve, the successor of de Blois, Bishop Wykeham, and again the Cardinal Beaufort, restored for a time its rights, increased its revenues, reinstated Charity on her seat of alms!

EUBULUS.

There needs much sacrifice of self amongst us still! Glad should I be to see Holy Cross what it ought to be, whether as regards the Hospital, or its architectural beauty. But it must be by little and little, and the sooner the beginning is made the better. I despise not the old saw,

“Dimidium facti qui bene cœpit habet!”

ALETHES.

The time is come⁶! But as I said before, I heartily wish that more of such houses adorned our land. Better surely were they than the new unseemly houses which are now built to imprison the poor! These turn their hearts backwards, and their destruction would be their delight. Far otherwise was it when religious houses were destroyed in the land. They were ready to rise as one man, in their defence, and the insurrection as we know took some trouble to quell. There is a curious old writer who speaks what I think on this point, and I know he is a favourite with you.

EUBULUS.

Who is that?

⁶ This, it must be recollected, was written many years ago. The question is now (1853) before the Courts.

ALETHES.

Democritus Junior, alias old Burton, in his "Anatomie of Melancholie," who gave Milton hints for his "Penseroso." I never knew rightly what to make of that book, but it contains most extraordinary things; Charron may have led the way, but the disciple was as wise as, or wiser than, his master.

EUBULUS.

That is a point on which literary doctors are contented to disagree. But the book is on that second shelf,—let us refer to the passage.

ALETHES.

Here it is. "Methinks our too zealous innovators were not so well advised on that general subversion of abbeys and religious houses, promiscuously to fling down all. They might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have rased and raged against those fair buildings, and everlasting monuments of our forefathers' devotion, consecrated to pious uses. Some monasteries and collegiate cells might have been well spared, and their revenues otherwise employed; here and there one in good towns or cities at least, for men and women of all sorts and conditions to live in, to sequester themselves from the cares and tumults of the world, that were not desirous or fit to marry, or otherwise willing to be troubled with common affairs, and know not well where to bestow themselves, to live apart in, for more conveniency, good education, better company sake; to follow their studies (I say) to the perfection of arts and sciences, common good, and, as some truly devoted monks of old had done, freely and truly to serve God; for these men are neither solitary nor idle, as the poet made answer to the husbandman in Æsop, that objected idleness to him, he was never so idle as in his company; or that Scipio Africanus in Tully, *nunquam minus solus, quam quum solus; nunquam minus otiosus, quam quum esset otiosus*—never less solitary than when he was alone, never more busie than when he seemed to be most idle⁹."

⁹ Part i. sec. 2, mem. 2, subs. 7. Reprint, vol. i. p. 127. 8vo. 1827.

EUBULUS.

Doubtless there is a time, *vacare studiis et Deo*; and to a certain extent religious retirement might have been retained. Or rather, as now in Denmark, convents might have been permitted to exist, where no vows were required.

ALETHES.

But I thought I had heard you say that in Denmark the only house that remained was for females,—a kind of secular nunnery.

EUBULUS.

You are right. What I meant was, that it might have been well to have retained some few such as old Burton speaks of. The one in particular which I alluded to in Denmark is an excellent institution, but it is much restricted. It requires considerable interest to get in, and is a receptacle only for the unmarried females of the higher classes. It shows, however, that the plan might have been carried out.

ALETHES.

I am informed that a circular has been widely distributed, in which “the revival of monastic and conventual institutions on a plan adapted to the exigencies of the Reformed Catholic Church in England,” is proposed. I can hardly think it feasible.

EUBULUS.

The intent, no doubt, is good and single-hearted. But, to say the truth, my idea is that monasteries have had their day. With all the attendant evil, real or fictitious, which accompanied them, they wrought a good work. They were a refuge under feudal tyranny, and had a softening influence on men’s minds. Drones there were, in abundance, about the hive—but it was a hive of busy bees nevertheless. And what if some mocked? The incense of prayer and praise ascended nevertheless continually. Amid the hurly burly of wild aggression, and when the darker places of the land were full of cruelty, they gave themselves, like the Psalmist, unto prayer. They were lights in a dark place, and none, with any soul, can look upon the remains of such places as were Furness, Fountains, Tintern, Haughmond, Vale Royal, and a hundred others, without thankfulness. In little things and

great they were benefactors to the land they lived in. I will exemplify my meaning in the beginning stanzas of that exquisite ballad, the "Inchcape Rock :"—

"No stir in the air, no stir in the sea,
The ship was still as she could be,
Her sails from heaven received no motion,
Her keel was steady in the ocean.

"Without either sign or sound of their shock
The waves flow'd o'er the Inchcape Rock ;
So little they rose, so little they fell,
They did not move the ' Inchcape Bell.'

"The Abbot of Aberbrothok,
Had placed that bell on the Inchcape Rock ;
On a buoy in the storm it floated and swung,
And over the waves its warning rung.

"When the Rock was hid by the surge's swell,
The mariners heard the warning bell ;
And then they knew the perilous Rock,
And blest the Abbot of Aberbrothok !"

ALETHES.

Many's the lesson to be read in verse like that—"Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo !" Little do the many know when they speak superciliously of monasteries and monkery, that it is to them we owe a great part of the literature we are now possessed of. Some of our wealthy landlords, who now hold what was once the patrimony of the Church, would be surprised to hear that it was the Benedictines who reclaimed the marsh lands which are at present their fat meadows ; and that the Cistercians brought into cultivation those moors which are now so thick with corn. There is plenty of ground even yet to be brought into cultivation, and with our increased and increasing population, we might take a leaf out of their book instead of sneering at their idleness. I suspect the text is yet true, "*Dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed !*"

EUBULUS.

It was to the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny, you will recollect, that the Pope consigned Becket ; and Henry threatened to expel

the order from England if they continued to harbour him. They were said at that time to have no less than five hundred houses here. The first Cistercian Abbey founded here was at Waverley in Surrey, by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, in A.D. 1128. But whilst, Alethes, we acknowledge benefits received, we must hold in mind that ancient motto of the Grecian sage ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ! Some say that shortly after this time the Clergy occupied about one-fifth of the soil, Hallam says one-half, and even a greater proportion in other parts of Europe¹⁰. If so their temporals, as human nature is constituted, must have usurped much of their attention, whereas,

“Pastorem, Tityre, pingues
Pascere oportet oves!”

Bacon remarks in his “*Meditationes Sacræ*,” that “the beginnings of the monastical life were good,” which they certainly were, but it turned out with them, as with the rest of the world,—possessions brought distraction!

ALETHES.

None will more readily grant the truth of what you say than myself, but hear what Hallam says, no very favourable witness: “Many of the grants to monasteries which strike us as enormous, were of districts absolutely wasted, which would probably have been reclaimed by no other means. We owe the agricultural restoration of great part of Europe to the monks. They chose for the sake of retirement, secluded regions, which they cultivated with the labour of their hands. Several charters are extant, granted to convents, and sometimes to laymen, of lands which they had recovered from a desert condition².”

EUBULUS.

We are quite agreed on the main, though I think Hallam, in a later page of his work rather depreciates the state of horticulture. Of one thing we may rest assured,—the monks were always better than their neighbours,—but the restoration of the conventual system, depend upon it, is a dream. You will find the

¹⁰ Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 209.

¹ Works, vol. i. p. 212. Ed. Montagu.

² Middle Ages, vol. iii. pp. 436. 444.

subject well treated in the Preface to Mr. Maitland's "Dark Ages." Have you seen the Reprint?

ALETHES.

I have not.

EUBULUS.

Then I shall have the satisfaction of reading to you a passage which, if I am not mistaken, exactly contains our views.

"It is quite impossible to touch the subject of MONASTICISM without rubbing off some of the dirt which has been heaped upon it. It is impossible to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe, without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the Monastic Orders; and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, monasteries were beyond all price in those days of misrule and turbulence, as places where (it may be imperfectly, yet better than elsewhere) God was worshipped—as a quiet and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden, and the desolate widow—as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills, and barren downs, and marshy plains, and deal its bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train; as repositories of the learning which was to be—as nurseries of art and science, giving the stimulus, the means, and the reward to invention, and aggregating around them every head that could devise, and every hand that could execute—as the nucleus of the city which in after days of pride should crown its palaces and bulwarks with the towering cross of its cathedral. This, I think, no man can deny. I believe it is true, and I love to think of it. I hope that I see the good hand of God in it, and the visible trace of his mercy that is over all his works³."

He then proceeds to show the impossibility of restoring what I have called the conventual system, and I think he does it well and wisely.

ALETHES.

One loss was sustained by the dissolution of the monasteries which I think has never been redeemed to this day.

³ See Preface, p. v.

EUBULUS.

What do you allude to.

ALETHES.

The systematic teaching which was pursued there, and in the place of which the Grammar-Schools of Edward VI. (in themselves excellent and invaluable institutions) were but a sorry change. It is old and honest Latimer that says, "To consider what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. Very few there be that keep poor scholars, that set their children to school to learn the word of God; and to make a provision for the age to come⁴."

EUBULUS.

Averse as Latimer was to the life of an idle friar, none was more sensible than he of losses sustained. I agree entirely with you in thinking that the education of the people,—especially of the poor,—received at that time a shock which it is only just recovering from. Means for exertion were done away with, and finances crippled by indiscriminate robbery and spoliation.

ALETHES.

Basil's care for the education of children in the monasteries of the East can never be forgotten. But, is there reason to believe that the like care was bestowed upon the children of the poor and orphans in our Anglo-Saxon Religious Houses?

EUBULUS.

There is not, but as a general truth, they were fully alive to the Satirist's saying,

"Maxima debetur puero reverentia."

Formerly the schools were within the abbey, and the monks, under the prior's inspection, were the teachers. It is not to be disguised, however, that very many of these children were consigned to the care of the House by their parents, and brought up as monks before they could choose for themselves, and in this there was a marked difference from the rule and conduct of St. Basil. But the schools were not restricted, and others received

⁴ Sermons, vol. i. p. 267. Ed. Watkins.

education within the walls, who, but for so kindly a provision, must have continued in lamentable ignorance. But it was not till after the arrival of Augustine that the education of children generally was much insisted on. Sigebert, Bede tells us, on his return from France, whither he had fled from his brother Redwald, on regaining the crown of East Anglia, first established a school in his dominions. He was assisted in his good work by Bishop Felix.

ALETHES.

His name, and that of Bishop Felix, should never be mentioned but with respect. It was a day of small things, but he made a beginning, and it was much. Opportunity was offered, and the monks would be the readier teachers when the example was set by their king, for, as Claudian says,

“Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum.”

EUBULUS.

We know that the example was followed, and although the instruction of the House was limited, still, whoever wished to learn must betake himself to abbey or monastery. Almost every thing that appertains to the education of monks and nuns will be found in Fosbrooke's “British Monachism”—a very useful and entertaining book. I wish, however, that he had pursued the subject of education generally as it emanated from the cloister and the cowl.

ALETHES.

The subject, though the fact be acknowledged, is beset with difficulties, and requires a careful induction of particulars. But as regards Sigebert's school, that, as it appears to me, was rather for ecclesiastics; and I think my opinion is borne out by what Bishop Stillingfleet says in his “Discourse of the true Antiquity of London.” Any education which proceeded further was but, so to say, the overflowing of the cup.

EUBULUS.

I forget what Stillingfleet says; but his “Ecclesiastical Cases” are on the shelf, and we will look to it. A very valuable work, Alethes!

ALETHES.

That it is. I can turn to the passage at once; and the reference is to Bede. "Where Bede speaks of Sigebert's appointing a school among the East Angles for the education of youth, he saith, that Felix, Bishop of the diocese, provided masters and tutors for them, according to the custom of Canterbury. Now this Sigebert was contemporary with Eadbaldus, son to Ethelbert; and Felix was Bishop of the East Angles, while Honorius was Archbishop, and Paulinus Bishop of Rochester. From whence it follows, that at Canterbury, there was care taken in the monastery there founded, for masters and tutors, in order to the education of fit persons for the Church's service ⁵."

EUBULUS.

I admit the restriction; but, as I said before, the source of education is clear enough. To use the Psalmist's words, "It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down unto the beard, even unto Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing ⁶." It began with the Priesthood; but the skirts of the congregation participated in its sovereign influence on their minds, and by degrees, began to find that knowledge was power. Now, I am convinced, it was the destruction of these schools which retarded the progress of education. If I mistake not, Mr. Churton, in his "Early English Church," is of the same opinion. But observe, I could not enter into a contest about words; and the effects of the school, whether within or without the monastery, were nearly one and the same. His words are: "There was commonly a school kept near the great abbeys, and at the expense of the monasteries. The loss of these schools was one of the public evils felt, when Henry VIII. so rapaciously broke up these religious houses. In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, A. D. 1562, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Williams, complained that more than a hundred flourishing schools had been destroyed, which had been maintained by the monasteries, and that ignorance had greatly increased from it ⁷." When he goes on to say that "these schools do not seem

⁵ See 2nd Part of Eccles. Cases, vol. ii. p. 554.

⁶ Psalm cxxxiii. v. 2.

⁷ Churton's "Early English Church," p. 324.

to have done much to advance the state of learning amongst the people," he states what is true; and we only differ in the acceptance of words. Knowledge emanated from these schools; and to them, after all, the people were indebted. The impetus given was from thence.

ALETHES.

But are you not confounding together what should be kept apart,—I mean, Cathedral and Monastic Schools? No well-informed person would deny what Aubrey asserts, in his "Life of Hobbes," namely, that "before the Reformation, all monasteries had great schools appendant to them⁸."

EUBULUS.

These may require some slight discrimination; but the fact is, that on this matter there is little discernible difference. The truth is still one and the same,—all the earlier education of this country was in the hands of the religious houses.

ALETHES.

My remark was grounded on that section in Henry's "History of Great Britain," which speaks of the seminaries of learning from A.D. 1166 to A.D. 1216. He then divides them into five classes:—I. General Studies, or Universities; II. Episcopal, or Cathedral Schools; III. Monastic or Conventual Schools; IV. The Schools of Cities and Towns; and, V. The Schools of the Jews⁹.

EUBULUS.

This distribution is sufficiently correct; but there can be no doubt that the Conventual sprung out of the Cathedral schools. Whenever, in its primitive acceptation, we speak of a minster, or a monastery, we must consider the Clergy and the Bishop as living together. At all events we cannot contemplate Augustine and his monks without such an association.

ALETHES.

Henry informs us, as we know, indeed, from other sources, that these conventual schools greatly increased during the reign of Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., and John. Between the time

⁸ Letters from the Bodleian, vol. ii. p. 614.

⁹ See History, &c., vol. iii. p. 436.

of the Conquest and the death of the last-named king, no less than 557 religious houses of different kinds were founded; and as there was a school of some sort in each, we may guess the influence of learning even in those darker times, as they are called. As to the Episcopal or Cathedral schools, the same authority informs us that they were "even better regulated, and consequently more useful and more famous." One of the most remarkable schools mentioned during this period is that of St. Alban's. This I refer to, for a further reason; for, besides the school in the Abbey, there was another in the town, "under the government of Matthew, a physician, who had been educated at Salernum, and of his nephew, Gasinus, who excelled in the knowledge of the Civil and Canon Law. Of this academy Matthew Paris affirms, "That there was hardly a school in all England, at that time, more fruitful or more famous, either for the number or proficiency of its scholars. This plainly intimates that there were many schools of the same kind in England; which is further evident from the last Canon of the Council of Westminster, A.D. 1138, prohibiting the scholastics of Cathedral Churches from taking money for granting licenses to the teachers of the schools in the several towns and villages¹."

EUBULUS.

Schools were now becoming very general; and although Matthew was educated at Salernum, enough were educated at home. The fact you have now stated from Henry goes entirely to corroborate what I said. The learning of religious houses was beginning to spread. If I am not mistaken, the first schools, not for the education of monks, but wherein youths were educated by the monks, were called "*Scholæ Claustrales*."² The next step was to schools unconnected with the monasteries; and the teachers in them were considered to have usurped an authority not their own. Du Cange states this in these words: "*Scholæ vero jus, seu eam tenendi in ejusmodi villis, inter jura dominica recensetur: adeo ut dominos laicos id sibi asseruisse, et Presby-*

¹ Henry, ut supra, p. 445.

² See Du Cange v. "*Scholæ Monasticæ*," and again v. "*Schola Christi*," the word "*Scholasticus*" in its ecclesiastical sense, he explains to be, "*Dignitas Ecclesiastica, qua qui donatus est, Ecclesiasticis præest, Gall. Ecolâtre.*"

teris ademisse colligatur in Charta Balduini de Raducris in Monastico Anglic., tom. ii. p. 180." He had stated above, "*Scholas in villis et vicis habere jubentur Presbyteri apud Theodulphum in Capitul. c. 20. Et Attonem Episc. in Capitulari, cap. 61.*"

ALETHES.

It is curious thus to trace the little streams to their source, and to observe into what a mighty river they have now swelled. But was there not a proposition at the Council of Trent for the efficient restoration of schools in connexion with Monasteries and Cathedrals?

EUBULUS.

There was. We will refer to it in Courayer's Translation of Fra-Paolo Sarpi's History of that Council. Those five quarto volumes, on your left hand, I purchased in 1829, by the advice of the lamented Dr. Burton. The two first are Courayer's Translation of Paolo Sarpi; the three next, L'Enfant's Account of the Councils of Pisa and Constance. A well-timed "Book on Cathedral Institutions," recalled it to my mind years after. But here it is; and I will read it to you.

"Quelques-uns proposèrent à l'égard des leçons de rétablir l'usage qui subsistait anciennement, lorsque les monastères et les chapitres n'étoient que des Écoles; usage dont il reste encore des vestiges dans plusieurs Cathédrales, où les dignités d'Écolâtre ou de Théologal, auxquelles sont annexées des Prébendes, sont demeurées sans exercice, faute d'être conférées à des personnes qui en soient capables. Tout le monde jugea donc, que c'étoit une chose avantageuse et utile de rétablir les leçons de Théologie dans les Cathédrales et les Monastères. L'exécution en paroissoit facile dans les Cathédrales, en en remettant le soin aux Évêques. Mais il y avoit de la difficulté par rapport aux Monastères. Car, quoiqu'il ne s'agit que des Moines, et non des Mendians, les Légats, pour empêcher qu'on ne touchât aux privilèges accordés par les Papes, s'opposoient à ce qu'on donnât aux Évêques la surintendance et l'inspection de ces sortes de leçons. Mais Sébastien Pighino, Auditeur de Rôte, trouva à cela un tempérament, qui étoit de donner cette surintendance aux Évêques comme délégués du Saint Siège," &c.³

³ Histoire du Concile de Trente, livre ii. c. lxii., vol. i. p. 305. Ed. 1736.

ALETHES.

The result, I recollect, from Pallavicini; and it was well that in needier places the blessing of a Cathedral, or a Monastic School, descended on the heads of the poor around. From what we have said, Eubulus, I am inclined to collect that the recent Professorships of Ecclesiastical History, and Pastoral Theology in Oxford, are but “auld claes” made new again!

EUBULUS.

As you always speak in earnest, and with no sinister intent, there is no reason to disguise the truth. At the same time the Divinity and Hebrew Professorships were attached to Canonries at Christ Church before; and the Chorister School has always been well looked to.

ALETHES.

That I know; but in some Cathedrals the desire expressed in the “Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws,” was not carried out. In a word, the “Scholastic Prebend” did not fulfil his duties.

EUBULUS.

“Pudet hæc opprobria nobis,
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli!”

But so it is in all things under the sun! The duties of individuals need looking to, or the good of the community suffers.

ALETHES.

But here, too, is a fallacy. The keenest of mortal vision, omitting its own duties, pries into those of another. There is enough of the eagle glance, and the subtle wisdom of the serpent; but the censurer himself full often needs the “humble, penitent, and *obedient* heart.”

EUBULUS.

True, true, Alethes! But had the Clerici themselves been more zealous, there had not been such a forsaking in the midst of the land! We have much to answer for one and all of us. However, since the spoliation of Church property, in Henry VIIth’s time and since, the lords of the soil have placed themselves in no enviable position. Till driven to it by the pressure

from without, which caused compunction within, the vicar's stipend remained what it was before the increased value of property; and, as to the support of schools, and other charities, it is only till within of late years that such a thing has been thought of; and in many a parish I could name, even yet it is not thought of at all.

ALETHES.

You would imply that those whose house is made of glass, should not be the first to throw stones!

EUBULUS.

The proverb is true enough, though I did not think of it. The fact is, I was painfully impressed with the fact that we had not done all that we might have done; and wicked as was the late spoliation of Cathedral property, I can scarce look upon it but in the light of a visitation. Since the Hanoverian Succession we have had too many political Divines; and many have been thrust into the "Priest's office to eat a piece of bread."

ALETHES.

And yet, Eubulus, the intended application of forfeited Church property (for I can call it by no other name) is hardly more violent than the appropriation of the property of the *Regular* to the *Secular* Clergy.

EUBULUS.

Had that been the only use made of the patrimony of the Church, the ground you take might have had more solidity; but you know full well that it was miserably squandered on court sycophants and spendthrifts. Old Latimer lifted up his voice against the misapplication of the Church's revenue, as did others; and for this, if for this alone, their names should be had in honour.

ALETHES.

Well! Eubulus, you have the consolation to think that something has been done in the diocese of Chichester! I am told it was the intent of the late Bishop of Worcester, when Bishop of Chichester, had the "*Écolâtre*," or "*Scholasticus*" Prebend fallen vacant during his Episcopacy, to have appropriated it entirely to theological teaching.

EUBULUS.

Time passed on, and a Diocesan School was established at Chichester; and the name of the amiable Bishop Otter will ever be connected with it:—

“*Libertas quæ, sera tamen, respexit inertem!*”

It is the Priest's house, when all is said and done, Alethes, which is the “*Domus Sapientiæ*.” The Priesthood must teach the people, or they will be ill taught, and fall into all sorts of sectarian views and notions. This is well known under the Roman, or Papistic, scheme; and, to use an old expression of the Metamorphosis, in no hostile sense,—

“*Fas est et ab hoste doceri!*”

ALETHES.

Under any circumstances there is a move. The schoolmaster is abroad. Whether for good, or for ill,—as schemes shall be ripened,—the teaching system is in the ascendant. I shall be glad to see the ancient model abided by, as far as it is possible. The further we remove from it, the worse it will be for us. There is but one solid school, when rightly considered, and that is the School of the Prophets. All education to be beneficial must be in the hands of the Church. At last the truth seems unwillingly acceded to. Gebal, Ammon, and Amalek, have assented to an armistice!

EURULUS.

I wish the present calm may not portend a heavier storm! But I will confess the outward appearance of things is better: “*God sitteth above the water flood!*”

ALETHES.

The question of the people's education is one on which I wish to be better informed. It is one, I know, on which you have long thought, and on which doubts of all sorts have risen up before you. I should like to know your more matured opinions.

EUBULUS.

On another occasion. Meanwhile let us avail ourselves of the first day of spring,—the first genial day we have had! The

children are calling for papa, and have their baskets filled with daisies and buttercups. The little sick boy, too, has made a flower necklace, which smells sweet as violets; and he says he wants me, as soon as I have read prayers to the widow, who sent but now, to gather him some still prettier posies, which he says he will wreath into a krantz for his mamma, who has been sitting by his bed-side since breakfast. The observant rogue has caught the word from me. It simply means a "*garland*;" and so Shakspeare uses it in Hamlet⁴. It was the every-day word when I was in Denmark, though commentators would read "*chants*."

ALETHES.

And so those pretty prattlers have taught you to pluck the flowers once more! It was you that used to refer me to the words of Bacon, when I carelessly pulled a handful; and they were pretty words, too:—"And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (when it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air⁵." I can repeat them, you see, like a schoolboy!

EUBULUS.

There is an old Grecian story, Alethes, of a great commander—(the Duke of Wellington of his day)—who was caught riding cock-horse with his children⁶! And, soothe to say, they are imperious in their infancy. I am of Paley's mind, who rejoiced in the happiness of little children. None else would induce me to pluck a flower. Did you ever read those pretty lines of Walter Savage Landor's?—

"And 'tis and ever was my wish and way
To let all flowers live freely, and all die,

⁴ "Yet here she is allowed her virgin crants,
Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home
Of bell and burial!"—Hamlet, Act v. Sc. i.

⁵ Essay of Gardens. Works, vol. i. p. 154.

⁶ Old Fuller says, after having quoted Horace's "*Equitare in arundine longâ*," "Such cases are no trespass on gravity, and married men may claim that privilege, to be judged by their Peers, and may herein appeal from the censuring verdict of Bachelors."—Holy State, book iii. c. xxi. See also Hales of Eaton, vol. ii. p. 86. Ed. 8vo.

Whene'er their Genius bids their souls depart
Among their kindred in their native place.
I never pluck the rose ; the violet's head
Hath shaken with my breath upon its bank,
And not reproacht me ; the ever sacred cup
Of the pure lily hath between my hands
Felt safe, unsoil'd, nor lost one grain of gold ⁷ !”

ALETHES.

Well may you call them pretty ! But come, the children are clamorous. Goldsmith must have seen such “noisy children just let loose from school !” For his line is alive !

⁷ Landor's Poems. Fæsulæ Idyl, p. 317.

No. III.

Parochial Fragments, &c.

“ Liberal, not lavish, is kind Nature’s hand ;
Nor was perfection made for man below :
Yet all her schemes with nicest art are plann’d
Good counteracting ill, and gladness woe.”

BEATTIE’S *Minstrel*, Book i. vi.

“ I would not, as some, to seem impartial, do no right to any. When actions are honourable, the honour is as much the history, as the fact ; and so for infamy. It is justice, as well historical as civil, to give to every one his due. And whoever engageth in such designs as these, and governs himself by other measures, may be a chronographer, but a very imperfect, or rather insipid, historian.”

AUTHOR’S *Preface to Life of Lord Keeper Guilford*, p. 15.

“ Slander is like the fish called the remora, which, sticking to the helms of great ships, disorders the steerage. Ordinary persons are obnoxious to slander ; but, for the most part, it is frivolous, slightly regarded, and turns to merriment. But, when applied to great men and ministers of state, it disturbs the course of affairs, and the whole government feels it.”

Life of Lord Keeper Guilford. Vol. ii. p. 162. 8vo.

“ Wealth, and honour, and power, and favour, are of God ; but we have but stolen them from God, or received them by the hand of the devil, if we be come to them by ill means. And if we have them from the hand of God, by having acquired them by good means, yet if we make them occasions of sin, in the ill use of them after, we lose the comfort of the Holy Ghost, which requires the testimony of a rectified conscience, that all was well got, and is well used.”

DONNE’S *Serm.* xxviii. p. 279.

“ ’Tis highest Heaven’s command
That guilty aims should sordid paths pursue ;
That what ensnares the heart should maim the hand,
And Virtue’s worthless foes be false to glory too.”

AKENSIDE. Ode xviii.

Parochial Fragments,

&c. &c. &c.

EUBULUS.

I AM glad to see you back again. I was afraid you had wandered out for the day, under the idea that I was too much occupied to revert to our conversation of yesterday.

ALETHES.

I had made an engagement, Eubulus, with old James Long, the Clerk, and I found him such a faithful chronicler, that it was difficult to get away. I hardly thought to have seen the old man again! But,—for I had taken the poems of Douza in my pocket,

“ Post divortia longa, post tot annos
Usurpare palàm data est potestas
Mutuâque frui allocutione;
Quem nec spes mihi porrò erat videndi¹.”

The conversation of the old man and his remarks on bygone days cannot but rivet attention.

EUBULUS.

So I told you on a former occasion.

ALETHES.

We examined the Church throughout, as I had often done before, but he seemed delighted to point out afresh what he

¹ Jani Douzæ Poemata, p. 205. Ed. 1609.

thought might have escaped my recollection. On parting he asked me if I knew the curious inscription on an old tomb-stone some paces westward from the Lych-gate². See! I copied it.

“Here lieth the Bodie of John Parson: the only Sonne of William Parson of Salvington: who was buried the fowerth Day of March, 1633.

“Youthe was his age:
Virginitie his state:
Learning his love:
Consumption his fate.”

EUBULUS.

It is the only inscription in the churchyard “quaintly devised,” and in a few years more it will be illegible. Nothing is now known of the individual, and although Parsons is a very common name in these parts, Parson is unknown. So little avails the stone.

“Laudis titulique cupido
Hæsuri saxis cinerum custodibus; ad quæ
Discutienda valent sterilis mala robora ficus,
Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris³.”

It is as Sir T. Browne remarks in that beautiful treatise, his *Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial*, “Grave stones tell truth scarce forty years. Generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks. To be read by bare inscriptions like many in Gruter, to hope for eternity by enigmatical epithets or first letters of our names, to be studied by antiquaries, who we were, and have new names given us like many of the mummies, are cold consolations unto the students of perpetuity, even by everlasting languages⁴.”

ALETHES.

I fancy I know most that appertains to the history of the Church and Parish of West Tarring, but I should be glad you

² This is the old name for the gate through which the corpse enters the churchyard. *Lich* is the Anglo-Saxon word for corpse. Hence *Lichfield*, *Lichwake*, &c. &c. In the Churchwarden's Accounts for 1572 is the following entry: “*The lach of the Church lytyne gate vjd.*” Drayton mentions the “*Shrieking litch owl.*” See Nares' Gloss. cap. v. *Litch-owl*.

³ Juv. Sat. x. 143.

⁴ See c. v. Works, vol. iii. p. 491.

would read to me what is contained in that little book of yours, in which is noted down all the Ecclesiology of the district.

EUBULUS.

It is little enough, and for the most part extracted from Cartwright's "History of the Rape of Bramber," a hastily got up Book, and in need of much correction.

ALETHES.

It will interest me none the less. Read on, do.

EUBULUS.

Tarring, Terring, or Torrying,—for so it is severally written,—has the affix of West, to distinguish it from Tarring Neville, which is in the Eastern Division of the County, two miles and a half north of Newhaven, Rape of Pevensey. Whence the name is derived is not known, but the termination "*ing*" is common enough, and is simply the Anglo-Saxon "*Ing*," signifying a pasture or meadow. So in the immediate neighbourhood we have Goring, Ferring, Lancing, and elsewhere Reading, Godalming, &c. It is much the same as "*ung*" in German, when applied to places, though the Teutonic retains likewise the term "*ingen*," as in Thuringen, &c.

Anciently West Tarring was a place of some note in these parts, and letters were directed to different villages, "near Tarring." At the time referred to Steyning and Arundel would be the nearest towns. Shoreham was in itself inconsiderable, and but the port to the former; and as for Brighthelmstone, or Brighton, it was but "a small fisher town⁵," as Clarendon calls it, when he tells us that Colonel Gunter had provided a little bark there for the escape of Charles II., "where he went early on board, and by God's blessing arrived safely in Normandy."

The Manor of Tarring was given by King Athelstan to the Church of Christ in Dorobernia, or Canterbury, between the years A.D. 941 and A.D. 944. In "Domesday" it is reckoned among the possessions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and is stated to have always belonged to the monastery. At that time it had also two Churches. Of the second there is no traditionary record even, and it is not improbable that one of the chapelries

⁵ See b. xiii. vol. vi. p. 541. Ed. 1826. Dorobernia, below, is Canterbury, not as is the old Latin Grammar "*Dover*," "*Audito regem Doroberniam profiscisci*."

was counted in. If not, we have only to consider the destruction of churches at that time, and to count this into the number. That old clause in the Litany was no fictitious one, but inserted in faith and fear: *Epotestate Northmannorum, libera nos, Domine*. The conquering Normans recked little of sacred places. His appetite and digestion were much like the Dragon of Wantley's,

“For houses and churches were to him geese and turkies.”

If report be square with the Conqueror, he destroyed no less than six and thirty parish churches, in the New Forest. The truth of this has been questioned, but the extent of that splendid chase leaves little room for doubt. Churches, we know, had greatly increased, as Stillingfleet observes on these words in the laws of Edward the Confessor: “*That there were then three or four churches, where there had been but one before*”⁶.

Though belonging to the See of Canterbury, the great Norman Baron had a stake in the parish of Tarring, as in the other parishes round about. “William de Braose” (“Domesday,” as quoted by Mr. Cartwright,) “holds four hides of this manor, and has three in demesne, one plough and four villains, with five cottagers, having one plough and a half.” His possessions in these parts must have been enormous, as on the Saxons being spoiled, forty-one manors in Sussex fell to his lot, besides others in Hampshire and Dorsetshire. His South-Saxon residence was Bramber-castle, of which the ruin still remains; his Norman, Braose, or Briouse-castle, ten leagues from Caen, and two from Falaise⁷.

Very little is known of Tarring in earlier days, at least very little has been brought to light as to its history, which seems to have been considered as one with that of the possessions of Canterbury. The following notice is quoted by Mr. Cartwright, from the “Rolls of the Hundreds,” (supposed to be made in the year 1274,) and would seem to corroborate what is here stated. “The Jurors say that the tenants of the Archbishop, in his manor of Tarring and Salvington, were accustomed to perform suits to the hundred of Bretford, in the time of Stephen, then Archbishop, but after his time they were withdrawn, and are now attached to the hundred of Lokesfield, by what authority they know not, to

⁶ Of the Rights and Duties of the Parochial Clergy, p. 129, vol. i. Ed. 1698.

⁷ See Pedigree in Cartwright, p. 174, with the History of Bramber.

the annual loss to the king of 2s." It is observable that although Tarring was formerly a place of considerable repute, it had nevertheless no market. The charter for holding one is dated April 26, Henry VI., and Saturday is the day appointed. The reason for requiring one is curious, namely, that whilst the good people were "atte the next market" of Broadwater, "*they that were abyding and beleyving in the said towne (i. e. of Tarring) stille in the mene while by the said enemys,*" (i. e. the Kynges enemys of Ffrance, Breteyne, Spayne, and other partys,) "*had dyvers times ben taken prisoners and byn slayn as well the men as the women, childer, maidenés, wíves, and doters therin beying and beleyving.*" Broadwater is not so much as a mile distant, so that the alarm might soon have spread! Probably the market then, like the fair there now, might have had its convivial charms, and under such circumstances husbands might not have been in a condition to defend their families! No South-Saxon born is ever in a hurry to leave either Sussex pudding, or Sussex ale!

"Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati
Sponsi Penelopæ, nebulones, Alcinoique
In cute curandâ plus æquo operata juventus⁸!"

Old Latimer, one might think, derived the story following from the South Downs: "A good fellow on a time bad another of his friends to a breakfast and said, 'If you will come, you shall be welcome; but I tell you aforehand, you shall have but slender fare, one dish, and that is all.' 'What is that?' said he. 'A pudding, and nothing else.' 'Marry,' said he, 'you cannot please me better; of all meats, that is for mine own tooth; you may draw me round about the town with a pudding'."

The present title of the Benefice is, "Patching cum Terring." Patching was annexed in 1767 to the Vicarage, but it appears that it was a chapel belonging to the church of Tarring, as early as 1238. The Rectory is a sinecure in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Vicarage is also a Peculiar of Lambeth, which, however, would appear to have been once in the gift of the Rector. But I may pass over the page, as what is contained

⁸ Hor. i. Epist. ii. 27.

⁹ Third Sermon before King Edward VI., p. 45. Ed. 4to. 1575. Black Letter.

in it was more or less made mention of when we were speaking of the Old Rectory House, or, as it is more commonly called, Thomas à Becket's Palace.

There was formerly a Chantry here, dedicated to the Virgin. The only remnant of its existence is to be found in a barn and a field, the one called the Chantry-barn, the other the Chantry-field. The earliest notice of it which had come to Mr. Cartwright's knowledge, "is in the Register of Archbishop Peckham, who issued a precept to his Chaplain, John de Slyndon, dated in May, 1282, to inquire into the state of the Chantry, then vacant, what was its endowment, and to whom the presentation belonged. The return to this precept is not given. But it appears by a final concord in 1313, that William atte Field, and Agnes his wife, granted to Walter de Peckham, nephew to the Archbishop, and then Rector of Tarring, the presentation to this Chantry." The last notice of it is in a return in the augmentation office, 36 Hen. VIII. It is there stated that there had been no incumbent for forty years. At present neither Rector nor Vicar have any glebe lands, (that on which the old rectory barns stood is not worthy the name,) and it would be curious to know whether or not they are under any obligation to the Walter de Peckham just mentioned, who is stated, when parson of Tarring, to have sold in 1328 to "John de Montgomery, and Rosa his wife, one messuage, one mill, forty-two acres of arable, two acres of meadow, and 5*s.* rent in Tarring." Probably, however, this chantry followed the fate of others. Two reasons were assigned in the Preamble to the Act of 1547, Edw. VI. One was, "for the dissolving of superstition which chantries were found to be great occasions of;" the other, "for the founding of schools of learning, and providing for the poor." But it fared with this parish as with countless others,—no school was founded, neither were the poor enriched. Strype gives some extracts from a sermon of Thomas Lever's on this subject, sometime Fellow, afterwards Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. "These," he said, "were all sold, taken, and made away. The King bore the slander, the poor felt the lack. But who had the profit of such things, he could not tell. But he knew well, and all the world saw, that the Act made by the King's Majesty and his Lords and Commons of his Parlia-

ment, for maintenance of learning and relief of the poor, had served some as a fit instrument to rob learning, and to spoil the poor¹."

ALETHES.

Excuse my interrupting you. I am not aware of any remnant of the Chantry in the present fabric. Is there such, or is any ruin traceable? The Chantry, you know, was usually attached to the Mother Church.

EUBULUS.

It is remarked by Staveley, that if the model of "country churches be observed, very often some additional building, or excrescence appears, differing from the old, or first *fabrick*, erected and used for these Chantrys²." But there is no remnant here whatsoever. The chancel was in fact the chantry too. But you are well aware that all chantries were not necessarily separate—the chantries, for example, of William of Wykeham, Cardinal Beaufort, and Bishop Waynflete in Winchester Cathedral, are between the massy piers of that splendid pile. Staveley, above quoted, states that there were no less than "seven and forty chantrys in St. Paul's."

ALETHES.

No doubt Chantries were abused as Monasteries were, but I could no more approve of the indiscriminate destruction of the one than of the other, and I could as little accede to what Mr. Wright says in his Preface to "Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries³." But proceed, Eubulus, with what is left.

EUBULUS.

The Church of West Tarring, were but the gallery taken down, and the nave thrown open, would be one of the most spacious ones hereabouts. It is of ancient but not of uniform date, and

¹ See Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical of King Edward VI., vol. ii. part i. p. 101. Strype's own words are: "This Act was soon after grossly abused, as the Act in the former King's reign for dissolving religious houses was. For though the public good was pretended thereby, (and intended too, I hope,) yet private men, in truth, had most of the benefit, and the King and Commonwealth, the state of learning and the condition of the poor, left as they were before, or worse." P. 100.

² See Staveley's "Romish Horseleech," p. 191. Ed. 1674.

³ Printed for the Camden Society. 1843.

dedicated to St. Andrew. The nave with its beautiful clerestory and lancet windows is of the age of Edward I., as are also the north and south aisles. The roof has never been lowered, and as the old proportions are thus retained the height of the nave is very imposing. The chancel and tower date later, and are of Edward IVth's time. The former is separated from the nave by folding doors, and an old screen. Within are three stalls on either side. The old Misereres⁴ also, with their grotesque carvings underneath, remain as they were. North and south there are oak seats likewise, but without stalls or Misereres. The Altar is railed in and raised, with steps up to it,—anciently called the *Grees*, *Grice*, or *Gradus Chori*⁵—which escaped the levelling system of the day. The altar-stone was probably taken down when others were in the Diocese of Chichester. This Order of Council was in 1551, for Strype records that altars remained in many churches a good while after Bishop Day's deprivation⁶ for "refusing to take down all altars within his diocese, and in lieu of them to set up a table, implying in itself, as he took it, a plain abolishment of the altar, both the name and the thing, from the use and ministration of the Holy Communion." Tarring being a Peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury's, was not likely, on the present occasion, to be an exception to the general rule. Sometimes the stone slab is to be found laid down, like a grave stone, on the floor, but I have looked in vain for it here. Within the rails is a Piscina in perfect repair, and in the usual position, but no remnant of an Aumbrye⁷. Many also of the old encaustic tiles are still discernible, but for the most part the decoration is worn off. I wish I may see it paved afresh! I have no superstition on this head, and when I hear some saying it is, as it were, to tread the Cross under foot, I cannot but call to mind our noble cruciform Cathedrals whose courts I love to tread! I must not omit to add that the east window of the Chancel is excellently proportioned and very beautiful. At a trifling expense this part

⁴ "*Misericordiae*, Sellulæ, erectis formarum subsellis appositæ, quibus stantibus senibus vel infirmis *per misericordiam* insidere conceditur, dum alii stant. Nostris *Misericordes* vel *Patientes*."—Du Cange in v.

⁵ "Grice" is the spelling in Shakspeare. See Nares' Gloss. in v.

⁶ See Strype's Memorials of Edward VI., vol. ii. part i. p. 482, and part ii. p. 59.

⁷ Another Piscina and an Aumbrye has recently been opened in the east wall of the south aisle.

of the fabric might be so restored as to be one of the most remarkable ones of the district.

The tower is of flint, with a lofty shingle spire, and is the great sea-mark in these parts. Few seem aware how very beautiful shingles are. Formerly they were much in vogue in this island, and appear to have been peculiar to northern climes. In the first instance they were used, no doubt, as most *handy* (to use a Sussex expression,) and likewise as weather-boards, but afterwards were continued as picturesque. Pliny informs us that they were used at Rome till the war with Pyrrhus—*ad Pyrrhi usque bellum*⁸—and from Vitruvius we learn that necessity was mother of the invention. *Ad hunc diem*, are his words, *nationibus exteris ex his rebus ædificia constituuntur, ut in Galliâ, Hispaniâ, Lusitaniâ, Aquitaniâ, scandulis robusteis, aut stramentis*. As the name implies, they are split pieces of wood, and usually about a foot long. It will be observed that the spire here is crooked, as many wooden spires are—Horsham, for example. This is to be attributed to the timber having been originally green. Common report says, Tarring spire was struck by lightning, and has ever since been awry. Likely enough it has been struck by lightning, but this was not the cause of its being crooked. Tenterden steeple was equally the cause of the Goodwin Sands, and of the shelf that stopped up Sandwich Haven. You will remember the racy story as told by Latimer, in his last sermon before Edward VI.⁹

Tarring Church, is, I believe, what is called a twelve-apostle-arch Church. There are five arches on each side, separating the nave from the north and south aisles, which, with the tower and the chancel arch complete the number. The latter is sadly disfigured and broken. This desecration is supposed to have been

⁸ The passage in Pliny is in lib. xvi. c. x. : "Scandulæ è robore aptissimæ, mox è glandiferis aliis, fagoque ; facillimè ex omnibus quæ resinam ferunt, sed miuimè durant, præterquam è pino. Scandulâ contectam fuisse Romam ad Pyrrhi usque bellum annis quadringentis lxx Cornelius Nepos auctor est." For Vitruvius, cf. lib. ii. c. i. So in German *Schindel*. Wachter in v. Du Cange, v. *Schindulæ*, quotes the following from the Chron. Mellicense : *Schindulæ quasi 400, ilicæ seu quercinæ de tasis vetustibus vinorum, aliis Schindulis deficientibus*. The French name is *Bardeau*. The Greek Scholiast on Aristoph. Nub. 131, says, *Σκινδαλμοῖς καλοῦμεν τὰ λεπτότατα τῶν ξύλων*. The fullest explanation of the word will be found in Martinii Lexicon, v. *Scandala*.

⁹ Latimer's Sermon, ut supra, p. 110. Many of our old divines use this illustration.

effected when the rood-loft was destroyed¹⁰. The *royde* or rood *lyght* is mentioned in the parish accounts as late as 1546, but it is not stated when the rood-loft was pulled down. Most likely it was in conformity to the order issued 1st of Edward VI., in the year 1547. Few survived the Reformation, comparatively speaking, but the antiquarian will still find some. The finest relics are in Somersetshire, especially Long Sutton and Kingsbury Episcopi. In our Cathedrals the modern organ-loft was the site of the Holy-rood. The account in Staveley's "History of Churches in England" is plain and simple. The book is a compilation, and many of the extracts are not marked off, but it is useful enough. He ends by observing, "The festival of the exaltation of the *Cross* was, and till this time is known by the name of *Holy-Rood-Day*; in the Saxon language, the word *Rode*, or *Rood*, signifying a Cross: and as it was an usual oath to swear by the Mass, so also by the *Rood*, as a very sacred thing¹."

The font is quite out of place. It was most probably put where it now is when the gallery was erected. When that is taken down it should resume its ancient position, which was near the arch of the tower, leading to the western door. It is a plain octagonal one, but like the chancel arch, has been much battered. What could be done to repair it has been recently done. The cross on the oaken cover is a Maltese one. A St. Andrew's cross had been more appropriate, the Church being dedicated to that Apostle.

ALETHES.

Excuse me interrupting you once more, but I have forgot what the St. Andrew's Cross is.

EUBULUS.

It is called a cross decussate, and is composed of two pieces of timber crossing each other obliquely in the middle,—in fact, the letter X. I have an extract here from Butler's "Life of St. Andrew," which I will read you, as it is somewhat curious: "It is mentioned in the Records of the Duchy of Burgundy, that

¹⁰ The Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England ignore the repairs of the arch, and throw them on the poverty of the parish:—

"Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum!"

¹ See c. xiii. 2nd Ed. 8vo. 1773.

the Cross of St. Andrew was brought out of Achaia, and placed in the nunnery of Weaune, near Marseilles. It was thence removed into the Abbey of St. Victor in Marseilles, before the year 1250, and is now shown there. A part thereof inclosed in a silver case, was carried to Brussels by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and Brabant, who in honour of it, instituted the Knights of the Golden Fleece, who, for the badge of their Order, wear a figure of this Cross, called St. Andrew's Cross, or the Cross of Burgundy². The Russians also claim him as their saint, and assert that he carried the Gospel as far as the mouths of the Borysthenes, and it was in acquiescence with the national superstition that Peter the Great "instituted under his name the First and Most Noble Order of Knighthood, or of the Blue Ribbon." St. Andrews, in Scotland, as is well known, is called after his name likewise.

I have only to add as regards the Church, that the tower is well proportioned and has battlements. The bells unhappily are broken and out of order, but something we may hope will be done by and by. We ought surely to keep up what our ancestors spared no expense in procuring! Till lately the west window was filled up with ill-squared glass and a wooden casement. Such was the way the old stone mullions were replaced! This is now restored exactly as it was, and in Caen stone. It was put in after the fashion of a mortuary window, in memory of the lamented Southey. It is perfectly simple, and has no inscription. Inside the tower is one of those curious old chests which were formerly very common. There is a remarkable one in the Church at Aldenham, near Watford. The one here was formerly used for keeping the registers, churchwarden's accounts, and other parochial documents. These—the few that is which have escaped the damps of centuries—have been now removed to the iron chest. Cartwright, in his "History of the Rape of Bramber," has preserved some extracts from these papers³. In a few years more

² See under Nov. 30th. He was put to death at Patræ, in Achaia, and crucified, as the Pseudo-Hippolytus relates, on an olive-tree. For his supposititious remains, see Fabricius Codex Apocryphus N. T. In p. 512, note. The shape of the cross is questioned; and it is stated that the one shown at Marseilles, *non decussata est sed erecta*.

³ See p. 13, &c.

they will quite have perished. Even now they fall to dust when touched. And thus, Alethes, end my rough notes.

ALETHES.

I thank you heartily for your details. Were every thing set down in like manner throughout the several parishes in this land, a most invaluable history might be drawn up.

EUBULUS.

I admit it—if after the fashion of White Kennett's "Parochial Antiquities." Much that he wrote of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent parts would with difficulty be obtained now.

No. IV.

Parochial Fragments, &c.

" 'Tis merry in greenwood,—thus runs the old lay,—
In the gladsome month of lively May,
When the wild birds' song on stem and spray
 Invites to forest bower ;
Then rears the ash his airy crest,
Then shines the birch in silver vest,
And the beech in glistening leaves is drest,
And dark between shows the oak's proud breast,
 Like a chieftain's frowning tower ;
Though a thousand branches join their screen,
Yet the broken sunbeams glance between,
And tip the leaves with lighter green,
 With brighter tints the flower ;
Dull is the heart that loves not then
The deep recess of the wild wood glen,
Where roe and red-deer find sheltering den
 When the sun is in his power."

Harold the Dauntless.—Canto ii. 1.

Country Walk,

&c. &c. &c.

“Fools gaze at painted courts ; to th’ country let me go
To climb the easy hill, then walk the valley low ;
No gold embossed roofs, to me are like the woods !”

Drayton’s Poly-Olbion.—Song xix.

It was a lovely day in June, and the sun shone brightly. There had been a soft shower to water the earth ; the dust was laid, and the fields and the hedges smelt sweet, as they are used to do, when after a period of warmer weather, with the wind east and north-east, the rain descends and gladdens the face of nature. So altogether delightful was it that I determined to lay by the morning work that I had cut out ; and I went to summon Alethes for a walk. I knew he was to be found in the garden, and on the sunny side of the house,—his usual place of recreation, when not at high romps with the children. He spied me coming, and guessed at the cause. His favourite “Chaucer” was by his side on the grass ; and I observed that it was the neat and new edition of “Sir Harris Nicholas,” who deserves the thanks of all the lovers of old Geoffrey for the nice come-at-ible form in which he has thrown together the scattered works of that great genius,—to use the words of Spenser,—

“In whose gentle spright
The pure well-head of poesie did dwell¹.”

Starting up from the old seat on which he was sitting, he

¹ The Faerie Queene, c. vii. 9.

exclaimed, "Such days as these, Eubulus, are all enjoyment ! I see even *you* cannot complete your routine of work, but must needs pay court to the air and sun before your time. I have just been reading old "Dan Geoffrey's" Prologue to the Legend of Good Women. Hear what he says—confess to the truth of his lines—and then I am ready :—

" And as for me, though that I can but lite,
On bookes for to rede I me delight,
And to hem yeve I faith and ful credence,
And in my herte have hem in reverence
So hertely, that there is game none,
That fro my bookes maketh me to gone,
But it be seldome on that holie daie,
Save certainly, when that the month of May
Is comen, and that I heare the foules sing,
And that the floures ginnen for to spring,
Farewell my booke, and my devotion.

Now have I than eke this condition,
That of all the floures in the mede,
Than love I most these floures white and rede,
Such that men callen daisies in our toun,
To hem I have so great affectioun,
As sayd I rest, whan comen is the May,
That in my bedde there daweth me no day,
That I nam up, and walking in the mede
To seen this floure ayenst the sunne sprede,
Whan it up riseth early by the morrow,
That blisful sight softeneth all my sorow,
So glad am I, when that I have presence
Of it, to done it all reverence,
And she that is of all floures the floure,
Fulfilled of all virtue and honoure
And every ylike faire, and fresh of hewe,
And ever I love it, and ever ylike newe,
And ever shall, till that mine herte die,
All swear I not, of this I wol not lie."

* * * * *

There was no gainsaying the natural truth and simple beauty both of the lines and of the recitation. It was at once admitted ; and, staff in hand, we started for the walk we had on a previous

day determined on;—that is to say, from Tarring to the old chapelry of Durrington: thence to Patching; from Patching to Angmering; from Angmering to Ferring; from Ferring to Goring; and thence, by the sea, through Heene, home. The walk was long enough for well-girt men; and experience in longer rambles gave Alethes heart of grace².

From Tarring to Durrington is a long mile and a half; and the direct path is across that magnificent field adjoining the church—than which there may be as fine, but there is no finer, land in England. It is not uncommonly called “Markwick’s big field,” from the name of a worthy tenant, who died a few years ago, leaving a name behind him, which will not soon be forgotten. One who knew him well, and was privy to the work of grace on his heart, drew up a little memorial on his departure hence, which appeared in the “Brighton Gazette,” under the title of “The Good Parishioner.” It is not unworthy of a more extended circulation, and for this reason it is inserted here. If there were those who undervalued his character at the time, there have been many since who have acquiesced in this truth: “They who suspect a bad motive in every generous action, are always to be suspected themselves³.” The author of this little work was, of course, the writer.

“THE GOOD PARISHIONER.

“*He was a faithful man, and feared God above many.*”

Nehem. vii. 2.

“Verily, such was the man of whom these simple words are a worthy record. ‘This was he,’ of whom many a once uncharitable, but a stricken and repentant spirit, will now say, ‘This was he whom we had sometimes in derision and a proverb of reproach: we fools accounted his life madness, and his end to be without honour. How is he numbered among the children of God, and his lot among the saints!’ (Wisd. v. 3—5.) By those who knew him not, and who were wrapt up in themselves, and in their

² A very old English expression. See Nare’s Gloss. in v. Perhaps it is more commonly said “to take heart of grace.” Grace is no doubt the original form of writing the word. To take *heart at grass*,—as from a horse becoming hearty at grass,—seems a conceit of Lyly’s.

³ Southey’s Hist. of the Brazils, vol. i. p. 549.

own self-righteousness, and in their unjustifiable words, he was accounted a hard and an austere man. But what of that? He went about in a humble way, doing good,—he comforted the fatherless and the widow,—‘his fountains were dispersed abroad,’—he sought out the afflicted,—he withheld not from the poor their desire, except upon a point of conscience and for their good,—he was the best of guardians,—and, if his temper was warm (as was that of Barnabas and Paul, Acts xv. 39), it was most generous, most forgiving, most forgetful of injuries; ‘the blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow’s heart to sing for joy.’ (Job xxix. 13.) Ask of those who now rue his loss,—ask of his labourers who rejoiced in his presence,—ask of her who now mourns over him with hope,—the widow, whose heart was like his own,—ask of the clergyman of his parish, at whose right hand he stood, as a guard against unrighteous judges,—ask of all who have the spirit of supplications, and that charity which is the end of the commandment,—and their reply will be,

“ ‘HE WAS A GOOD MAN.’—Acts xi. 24.

“ His were no fine or superficial notions. His education was simple, like his heart, and all that he had made was the blessing of God upon the labour of his hands. He did that which was right,—he enjoined it upon others,—he *enforced* it upon his household, when (in the words of Bishop Wilson, that saint of Sodor and Man) he had set up an altar *there*, and family prayer was his morning and evening sacrifice. Nor was he careful only in this, but he worshipped the Lord in the congregations, and washed his hands in innocency, and so approached the altar, and ate and drank abundantly to his soul’s health,—awaiting the resurrection of the just when he should be numbered with those that sleep! Blessed be God, in the only merits of whose Son he trusted, there is a book of remembrance written in heaven; and there, we doubt not, his name is recorded, as the names of all the justified of the Lord Jesus have been, and shall be.

“ His house was nigh to the church, and he belied that proverb, so often found to be true. He was as Justus (by name and nature), whom we read of in the Acts, ‘one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue’ (xviii. 7).

Neither came he there with *itching ears*, or to cavil, but to learn,—and his profiting and instruction in righteousness was known unto all who had eyes to see, or ears to hear, or hearts to understand, or affections to be moved at the beauty of holiness. He was, moreover, a good and zealous churchwarden,—a rare thing in these latter days of rebuke and blasphemy. He did not ‘run to his own house’ (as the censure of the Lord is conveyed by the prophet Haggai, i. 9), and let ‘*this house lie waste* ;’ but, like that good woman, whose praise is on the Gospel, he did ‘what he could,’—he loved to see the polished corners of the temple,—his heart and soul were in the work,—he rested still upon his God.

“ And what, when his last will and testament was known, what was the distribution of the departed one’s property, whom thoughtless ones called hard and austere? Was there ostentation,—show,—display? Far from it! He would be buried *very quietly* (his exact words),—his labourers should carry him to his grave, to all of whom he left legacies of 5*l.* each,—to the parish of West Tarring a sum of 50*l.*, for the widows, the infirm, and the sick, to be distributed at the discretion of the clergyman, during the winter quarter. Nor—having remembered the poor and needy—was the rest of his property unduly administered, though according to his own judgment, and not to satisfy babblers and busy talkers. He had laid to heart the Rubric in the Visitation of the Sick,—he had set his house in order,—clearly (as the writer thinks) since Christmas last; he thought he might die suddenly, and he would not die a *sudden*, that is, an *unprepared* death. On the contrary, he had prepared to meet his God; and for some years past (this pen is voucher) he was ‘growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’ If ever man turned his face to the smiter, he did. He cancelled bonds,—he distributed to the necessity of the saints,—he supported *all* parish charities, at the recommendation of the vicar, when some drew back, as our Saviour’s disciples have done before,—he forgave, as he hoped to be forgiven. Not by *precept* only, but by *example* also, he taught men to love their God and Saviour Jesus Christ; not to do despite unto the Spirit,—to reverence the sanctuary,—to respect the ministry. O hard-hearted and austere man (as the unwise thought thee), may my rest, like thine, be

glorious ! Happy widow ! who didst exhort the departed to all good works continually ; who wouldest not be written down, but for a trifle, in a faithful man's will, lest his needier kith and kin should suffer loss ! ' If there be any virtue, if there be any praise,'—this, this is true Christian generosity.

" Let one more fact be mentioned, amongst numberless others which are passed by. Three years ago it was proposed to re-pew and beautify the church at West Tarring, and a considerable sum was promised towards it. But who was the man ready to come forward with an honest and good heart,—without pressing and without solicitation,—who grieved as much as any that untoward circumstances thwarted the good work ? Was it some rich man, or an extensive landlord, or a man of funded wealth ? Nor one, nor other : but the round-frocked farmer,—the honest yeoman,—the good Christian,

" THOMAS MARKWICK."

" GO, AND DO THOU LIKEWISE."

In talking over the memory of this good man, we reached the village, which is prettily situated, but none otherwise remarkable than as containing the ruins of the old chapel. A few years more, and they will be past and gone ; and the accompanying engraving may be the only memorial⁴. I had told Alethes that a friend had made a sketch of the ruins for me ; and that it was my intention to perpetuate it by the workman's hand ; but he was sad and silent, though the day shone out cheerily, and at last exclaimed, " These things, Eubulus, ought not to be ! " And true it is they ought not ; and it is a blot upon the arrangements of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England that they are so ; for if the vicarial and rectorial tithes were not to be consolidated, so as to make West Tarring equal to the burden of parochial supervision and assistance required, it is clear as noon-day that the chapelries both of Durrington and Heene, (hereafter mentioned,) ought to have been restored to their original purpose. Indeed, under any circumstances, they never ought to

⁴ The drawings are all ready ; but it was thought advisable not to increase the price of the work. Should another edition be called for, six lithographs or engravings may be inserted,—that is, I. West Tarring Church ; II. Thomas à Becket's Palace ; III. Selden's Cottage ; IV. Durrington Chapel ; V. Heene Chapel ; VI. Patching Church.

have been allowed to go to wreck and ruin ; and the robbery of this ill-omened body is but looked upon as a righteous retribution for the sins of past neglect. They are not justified in their acts, any more than was Jehu ; but the negligence of our fathers is rightly visited on us their children ⁵. Painful is it,—most painful, to write thus ; but Wither's words, in his " Satire from the Marshalsea," are sadly and sorely true :—

" What once the poet said, I may avow,
 'Tis a hard thing not to write Satire now,
 Since what we speak, (abuse so reigns in all,)
 Spite of our hearts will be satirical."

It is little, as I said, that now remains of the old chapel,—the north and south side walls only. On examination, however, it will be seen that those walls are not outside ones, and there must have been some sort of aisle on both the sides ; but the one and the other must have been very confined and small, as may be seen from what remains of the foundations ; and the position of the chapel-yard path, compared with the fence, on the north side. But if little remains of the building, as little remains of its history, and as little was known in the boyhood of our oldest parishioner now living, Daniel Monk to wit, who numbered ninety and seven years, when the weeping saint, St. Swithin, told his round, in 1845, christening the apples more thoroughly than ever apples were christened before ⁶.

Mention is made of the village in Domesday, as well as of the church or chapel. It is there called *Dorentune* ; and it may be remarked that the change of meaning in the latter part of the word is curious. Formerly "*tun*" (as in Icelandic still) meant the ground immediately connected with the farm-house, or houses ; but now-a-days it is applied to the houses themselves

⁵ Hall, in his " Occasional Meditations," has a beautiful one " On the Ruins of an Abbey," where the same sentiments are expanded. It is the lxxvith, and begins thus : " It is not so easie to say what it was that built up these walls, as what it was that pulled them down, even the wickedness of the possessors," &c., vol. ii. p. 150. Folio.

⁶ Sir H. Ellis, in his Edit. of " Brand's Pop. Ant.," alludes to this ancient saying : " There is an old saying, that when it rains on St. Swithin's Day, it is the saint christening the apples." Vol. i. p. 189. Since the above was written, the aged patriarch has left this life for a better. He was buried May 21st, 1846.

collectively, whether few or many. Above the town, and below the town, I have heard said of a village in Shropshire, where there were but four houses. The Anglo-Saxon reader will find St. Luke's words, — Ἀγρὸν ἡγόρασα (xiv. 18), rendered by, *Je bohte anne tun*. In many Swedish, as in English, words, the expression is still to be found; *e.g.* Eskelstuna, Sigtuna, as observed by Mr. Henderson, in his "Icelandic Journal".

Relative to the tithes, I am able to add nothing to what is given by Cartwright:—"The moiety of the great tythes of Durrington was part of the endowment of the Priory of Sele, on which establishment it was conferred by Robert le Savage. As his grant is cited in a charter by Bishop Hilary, in 1150, it was probably obtained soon after the Norman Conquest. It has followed the course of the Sele possessions, and is now belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford, and let under a beneficial lease to the rector of Bramber-cum-Buttolphs. The other moiety belongs to the rector of Tarring." Under the recent Tithe Commutation, the rector of Tarring receives 114*l.*; and the president of Magdalen College 94*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* The vicar of Tarring has a money payment, or *modus*⁷, of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the spiritual charge of 181 souls; for such was the number last year, taking in the adjoining hamlet of Coat, Cote, or Coates, a name which explains itself, when connected with the sheep on the adjoining downs, about which it is so delightful to wander,

"At those hours
Of pensive freedom, when the human soul
Shuts out the rumour of the world"⁸.

Being a chapel only there is no burial-ground attached. It is said that in ancient days the dead of Durrington were interred at Steyning; but there are no data to prove it, except the following traditional anecdote, not yet extinct amongst our ancient worthies. An Archbishop of Canterbury once upon a

⁷ See vol. i. p. 122, note.

⁸ This payment is made in accordance with "The Arbitrement of Edward Alford, of Offington, in the county of Sussex, Esquire, indifferently chosen arbitrator between William Tye Clerk, and Henry Rouland, Thomas Paine, Robert Munning, and others the inhabitants of Durrington, concerning all matters of controversy depending betwene them." It is dated 28th April, 1617.

⁹ Akenside, Pleasures of the Imagination, Book ii.

time came down from London town to visit his peculiar of Tarring, and to inspect his retired nook at Plaistow-in-the-Weald. On his way to the former place, it chanced that he met a funeral procession, and inquiring from whence they came, and whither they were going, he received in reply that they were of Durrington; and that they were about to lay their dead brother's bones within the sacred suburbs at Steyning;—they added, moreover, that Tarring was the mother church of Durrington, and it was hard they should have to travel so far. “An established right,” quoth the Archbishop, “I cannot consistently alter; but something, by my troth, I can and will do: from this time forth let Steyning have a moiety of the tithe.” How it came to be diverted from Steyning to Bramber-cum-Botolphs, or how the monks of the Virgin, whose was the chantry at Tarring, were pleased with the arrangement, the chronicler saith not:—

“I know not what the truth may be,
I tell the tale as 'twas told to me.”

From Durrington our way lay to Patching, a distance of about three miles. The direct road was from the ruins of the old chapel to the gorse field, at no time without its sprinkling of yellow blossoms; for even in winter they are to be found, though fewer and far between. The winchat resorts thither in the summer months, and listens to the crackling of his favourite shrub, as the bloom bursts; and later in the year the fox seeks it as his covert¹. The path on the north side of the field leads to another in the adjoining one, which brings the pedestrian to the Arundel road, beneath that Mezentian-like building, called Goring Castle, an extraordinary compound of Palladian and modern Gothic, erected between thirty and forty years ago, by Sir Bysshe Shelley, Bart. Following the road to the hill-top, we entered upon that delightful spot, Clapham Common, by the gate, on the right hand side. Few walks are more agreeable than this. It is fine table-ground, covered with heath, and stunted-birch, commanding a view of Chichester Cathedral, and the Isle of Wight; and I never recollect to have enjoyed it more than on the present occasion. Every thing was in our favour;

¹ The foxhounds are now given up, and the furze has all been grabbed up.

and Alethes' spirits were elastic and buoyant as the little cock, which was just discernible on the distant sea, by the help of Dolland's pocket achromatic telescope,—one of a traveller's best companions :—

“ Clear had the day been from the dawn,
 All chequer'd was the sky,
 Thin clouds like scarfs of cobweb lawn,
 Veil'd heaven's most glorious eye.
 The wind had no more strength than this,
 That listlessly it blew,
 To make one leaf the next to kiss
 That closely by it grew². ”

On leaving the common, the Clapham and Findon road is crossed, and the path over the adjoining fields, by Dulany Cottage, the residence of Sir Richard Hunter, leads directly through the village to the church.

There is little or nothing connected with the parish to attract the notice, whether of historian or antiquary. Tarring, it has been said, was given to the Church of Christ, in Canterbury, by Athelstan,—*Athelstan Rex dedit villam de Terrings sitam super mare in Suthsexam Ecclesie Xti in Dorob*³. The like gift of Patching was conferred on the same see by Wilfric. In Domesday it is described as in the territory of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as having a church, and as appropriated to clothe the monks. The property of the manor, like as elsewhere, changed hands frequently in earlier days. In Edward I.'s time we find it in the hands of Richard le Walys ; and his descendant, John le Walys, died seized of it in 1419. “ In 1446,” writes Cartwright, “ the King granted the custody of the manor of Patching to Sir John Fortescue during the fatuity of William Walys, the son of William, the brother of Andrew, the son of John le Walys, Knight. From this time we have no account of it till the 33rd of Henry VIII., when the manor and its appurtenances were granted by that King to Judge Shelly, of Michaelgrove, in whose descendants it continued till 1800, when it was purchased by Richard Walker, Esq., of Liverpool, whose

² Drayton's *Muse's Elysium*, 6th Nymphal.

³ Dugdale *Monast.*, vol. i. p. 20, col. 2. Ed. 2nd. 1682.

son, Richard Watt Walker, Esq., sold it, in 1828, to Bernard Edward, Duke of Norfolk. The estate, thus sold, includes the whole parish, except about 170 acres, chiefly woods, belonging to Lord de la Zouche."

As late as the time of Henry III. and Edward I. the Church of Patching was a chapel dependent on the mother church of Tarring. This appears, in the first instance, from a copy of a Chartulary, amongst the Lambeth MSS., wherein are these words: *Quod Rector Ecclesie de Terring cognoscat inter Parochianos suos tam Ecclesie de Terring QUAM CAPELLE DE PACHING et aliarum Capellarum ad eam Ecclesiam de Terring spectantium, et tractabit causas eorum.* It is dated February, 1230; and is called, in Cartwright, "an agreement or convention between the rector of Tarring, and the dean of Malling." The dean's name at that time was W. de Bosche: the rector's name is not given; but he is called *R. Rector. Eccleⁱe de Terring.* The other proof of its being once a chapel, is from the archive following: *Charta Johannis (Peckham), Cant. Archiep. de CAPELLÂ DE PAOCYNGGES in statum pristinum Parochial. restitutâ et à subjectione, Ecclesie de Terryng liberatâ. Dat. apud Wyngham. 4 non. Aug. A. D. 1282.* The charter of its endowment was granted five years later, that is to say, in A. D. 1287: *Ordinatio Vicariorum de Terryng & Pacching per Joannem Peckham Cant. Archiep^{um}. dat. 4 die Februarii,* as it is headed in the original document⁴. There was a vicar, however, from 1282, by name Martin de Hampton. The last vicar on record was Adam Faucit, in 1499. As there was a rector from 1289, at least we must suppose the rectory to have been, like that of Tarring, a sinecure. It was again united to the vicarage of Tarring in 1767. On the death of the late rector of Tarring, the end of December, 1844, by permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England had the opportunity of severing it again; but they have unhappily not availed themselves of it, and thereby have shown themselves any thing but alive to the necessities of distant parishes, and parochial amelioration⁵. Thus much only is assented

⁴ The several documents here referred to were all verified by the late rector, the Rev. W. Vaux, when chaplain to the late Archbishop of Canterbury. They are amongst the archives and MSS. at Lambeth.

⁵ The late excellent Archbishop of course looked to the consolidation of the

to, that by and by they shall be separate, exemplifying the truth of Young's curious line, that—

“Procrastination is the thief of time.”

Commissions, as before hinted at, never worked well in England. Many a country parish is languishing for the want of those subscriptions which are now eat up in paying salaries to officials in Whitehall Place, who, no doubt, execute their duties well, and have hard tasks to perform, and are excellent and honourable men. But, when I see schools neglected, must I not exclaim—

“Quid referam, quantâ siccum jecur ardeat irâ,
Quum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator⁶?”

The Commission, as at present worked, like the Poor Law Commission exhibited in the “Andover Discoveries,” is bringing not a blessing, but a curse, on the Church and the community at large. In this case it is grievous to think that a day of reckoning has deservedly to come. Many a church now is in the condition of the wounded traveller, and the Commission pass by on the other side, like the priest and the Levite in the parable. It is humiliating to think that even an Ecclesiastical Commission has to be driven to act justly by the pressure from without!

Conversation on such points as these—on the parish and the Commission—had brought us by this time to the village, which of late years has been much improved, partly by Sir Richard Hunter himself, and partly through his influence with the Duke of Norfolk. It consists but of few houses, and the rest of the parish is much scattered, though the population is not numerous—rather over than under 250.

Nothing can be prettier or more retired than the churchyard, lying as it does on the slope from the now enclosed and cultivated down. It is, as Hawes says in that ancient poem, the “Pastime of Pleasure,”—

Rectory and Vicarage of Tarring, and the separation of Patching. Patching has since been separated; but the rectorial and vicarial tithes were not consolidated. The Commissioners have been simply driven into a stipendiary payment.

⁶ Juv. Sat. i. 45.

“ A place of pleasure and delectation,
 Strewed with flowers, fragraunte of ayre,
 Without any spot of perturbation.”

Few stones break the sod ; and the few wooden memorials have passed away wherewith “ the rude forefathers of the hamlet ” marked the spot where dust meets dust. Those who delight in that “ Elegy ” of Gray’s, which Lord Byron called the “ corner-stone of his glory,” will recal to mind the stanzas following, now repeated by Alethes, with intense feeling :—

“ Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield,
 Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe hath broke ;
 How jocund did they drive their team afield !
 How bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke !

“ Let not Ambition mock their useful toil,
 Their homely joys, and destiny obscure ;
 Nor Grandeur hear with a disdainful smile
 The short and simple annals of the poor.

“ The boast of Heraldry, the pomp of Power,
 And all that Beauty, all that Wealth e’er gave,
 Await alike the inevitable hour :
 The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

Without trees, without shade, there is something very beautiful in such a retired churchyard as that of Patching ; and one need not wonder that a stranger should wish it the burying-place of his clan. “ Holy men at their death have good inspirations,” says Nerissa to Portia’.

There is little in the church to attract attention, excepting its locality. Formerly it was larger than it is at present ; and the nave had a north aisle, with the tower to the east of it, surmounted half a century ago with a shingled spire, like Broadwater. The chancel had also a chapel attached to it on the north side ; but it does not appear to whom it was dedicated. Possibly it may have been a sepulchral one ; but no record remains, and the registers give no clue. The west end of the nave is said to have been reduced, when the north aisle was taken down. Cartwright

⁷ Merchant of Venice, Act i. Sc. ii.

says, "The architecture of the church shows that it was erected about the beginning of the thirteenth century;" and, from the shape of the windows, and perhaps the position of the tower, there is every reason to suppose the conjecture correct. Rickman enumerates it among the early English churches which have little admixture of other styles. The arches in the tower show the earlier shape of the fabric,—one opening into the nave, the other blocked up, but which formerly was open to the north aisle. The font is a perpendicular one. The chancel was repaired by the late rector; and the whole church, at considerable expense, by Sir Richard Hunter, in 1835. It is very neat, and in good order; but unhappily the dry-rot has shown itself in several places; and it is difficult to get rid of. There are mural monuments to the Dulany family; and the one to the first Lady Hunter is in better taste than such monuments usually are. Better is a memorial in Heaven's book of remembrance, than all the handywork of man! *AND HE DIED*⁸, is the short memorial of the early patriarchs:—

"But, bless'd be that Great Pow'r, that hath us bless'd
With longer life than heav'n or earth can have;
Which hath infused into our mortal breast
Immortal powers not subject to the grave.

"For though the soul do seem her grave to bear,
And in this world is almost bury'd quick,
We have no cause the body's death to fear;
For when the shell is broke, out comes a chick⁹."

⁸ See Gen. v. passim.

⁹ See that beautiful poem of Sir John Davies, "On the Immortality of the Soul," Sect. xxxiii. Southey took care to have it reprinted in his "Early British Poets;" and I have always thought he had the passage quoted in view, when he wrote these lines on the lamented Heber:—

"Yes, to the Christian, to the heathen world,
Heber, thou art not dead, . . . thou canst not die,
Nor can I think of thee as lost.
A little portion of this little isle
At first divided us; then half the globe:
The same earth held us still; but when,
O Reginald, wert thou so near as now?
'Tis but the falling of a wither'd leaf, . . .

The breaking of a shell, . . .

The rending of a veil!

[Oh

It is well known that the morel, or *Phallus Esculentus*, is found in the Patching and Castle Goring woods,—and, except the tribes of the orchis, amongst which the fly and the bee orchis are not uncommon,—it is the only circumstance to interest the naturalist. The truffle, also, or the *Lycoperdon Tuber*, is to be met with likewise; but Cartwright is probably wrong, when he speaks of the back woods as being “very productive” of this tribe; and it may be doubted whether Loudon is quite correct, when he says the truffle is “very common in the downs of Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Kent.” The following is given, on the authority of Cartwright: “About forty years ago, William Leach came from the West Indies, with some dogs accustomed to hunt for truffles; and, proceeding along the coast, from the Land’s End in Cornwall, to the mouth of the river Thames, determined to fix on that spot, where he found them most abundant. He took four years to try the experiment, and at length settled in this parish, where he carried on the business of truffle hunter till his death.”

Horace is right, when he says, *Pratensibus optima fungis Natura est; aliis male creditur*¹: and old Gerarde, the herbalist, likewise, when he says of the mushroom tribe, that they “are very venomous, and full of poison; others not so noisome, and neither of them very wholesome meat.” The morel, however, and the truffle have been sought after from time immemorial, and from imperial Rome to Perigord and Patching, as Gay says, in his “Trivia,”—

“Spongy morels in strong ragouts are found².”

The form of the truffle is well known. The morels are sold in strings, by the market-gardeners in the neighbourhood, and in Worthing; but they are not so common as supposed. The stem

Oh when that leaf shall fall, . . .
That shell be burst, . . . that veil be rent, . . . may then
My spirit be with thine !”

Ode on the Portrait of Bishop Heber.

¹ ii. Sat. iv. 20.

² See Book iii. There is a curious mistake in Todd’s Johnson, under the word *morel*. It is evidently confounded with old Gerarde’s, which is the *solanum lethale*—better known by the Italian name, *i. e.* the *Bella-donna*. In English it is the Dwale, or Deadly Nightshade. Morel is, I believe, derived from the Spanish, and is expressive of the colour of the berry, that is to say, a blackish purple.

is more usually hollow than solid ; in height from two to four inches ; smooth, and of a yellowish white, when gathered, but white when fresh. Loudon's description is sufficiently correct : " The cup is hollow within, and, adhering to the stem by its base, and latticed on the surface with irregular sinuses. It rises in the spring months, in wet banks, in woods, and in moist pastures. It is in perfection in May and June, and should not be gathered when wet with dew, or soon after rain. Gathered dry, they will keep several months."

* * * * *

Our way was now homewards, but as the evening was lovely in the extreme, we held to our original intention of returning through the old chapel-yard of Heene ; " for," said Alethes, " the grey ruin will be lighted up by the setting sun, and will be mellow as Melrose by moonlight by the time we reach it." The path we took was by the sea-side,—one of my favourite walks, where there is a mile and a half of good greensward, running parallel with the rough shingle, thrown up by the heavy rake of the sea, during the periods of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. It is a spot that Achilles might have chosen to beguile his grief in,—a spot which a saint might choose for holier meditation,—for that attention and application of spirit to divine things, touching which one like Jeremy Taylor, when interest divided the Church and the calen- tures of men breathed out in problems and inactive discourses, could write thus feelingly and beautifully : " If in the definition of meditation, I should call it an unaccustomed and unpractised duty, I should speak a truth, though somewhat inartificially : for not only the interior beauties and brighter excellences are as unfelt as ideas and abstractions are, but also the practice and common knowledge of the duty itself are strangers to us, like the retirements of the deep, or the undiscovered treasures of the Indian hills. And this is a very great cause of the dryness and expiration of men's devotion, because our souls are so little refreshed with the waters and holy dews of meditation. We go to our prayers by chance, or order, or by determination of accidental occurrences ; and we recite them as we read a book ; and sometimes we are sensible of the duty, and a flash of lightning makes the room bright, and our prayers end, and the lightning is gone, and we are as dark as ever. We draw our water from

standing pools, which never are filled but with sudden showers, and therefore we are dry so often : whereas if we would draw water from the fountains of our Saviour, and derive them through the channel of diligent and prudent meditations, our devotion would be a continual current, and safe against the barrenness of frequent drought³.”

It is a spot indeed for meditation ; and here full often have I thought on time and eternity, death and judgment, the changes and chances of this mortal life, and the rest that remaineth for the people of God. Many's the sermon has been prepared here by the voice of many waters ; and the lee shallow shore taught me to consider rather the plain Scriptures appertaining to salvation, than the deep things of God which pass man's understanding. Not to swim with the elephant, but to wade with the lamb is the safer. As Jewel saith, “It is not good, nor standeth with Christian reverence, to be contentious and busy in searching out or reasoning of matters, which the wisdom of God hath hid from our knowledge⁴ :” and then, for the edification of the people, Jeremy Taylor's advice to his clergy was surely best : “Let the business of your sermons be to preach holy life, obedience, peace, love among neighbours, hearty love, to live as the old Christians did, and the new should ; to do hurt to no man, to do good to every man ; for in these things the honour of God consists, and the kingdom of the Lord Jesus.” Such and the like have been my meditations for years by the shore of the great deep :

“Heedless and ignorant, (as wiser men,
And better may have been,) what spirit moves
Upon those waters, that unpausing sea,
Which heaves with God's own image, ever free,
And ministers in mightiness to earth
Plenty, and health, and beauty, and delight ;
Of all created things beneath the skies,
The only one that mortal may not mar⁵.”

Instead of going direct to the Heene Lane which runs right through the village, and has now, from carelessness, become a

³ The Life of Christ, &c. Of Meditation. Vol. ii. 105.

⁴ On the Sacrament of Baptism.

⁵ Lander's Mother's Tale, vol. ii. 658.

road, whereas formerly it was for the use of the farm only and the inhabitants, we turned across the lands which bear the name of the Heene Common, intersected with sea-ditches, and well bestrewed with gorse. Before us lay the chapel and the farm, and on our right the hamlet.

Heene, like many other like villages, has lost much of its parochial history for want of some White Kennett to record it. It is, however, an ancient parish, and is mentioned in "Domesday," where it is stated that the manor was part of the territory of William de Braose, of whom it was held by Ralph. His descendants continued to possess it, taking their name from Wistoneston, or Wiston, their principal estate. The descent of the manor may be seen in Cartwright; and he has stated elsewhere that the rector of Tarring has manorial claims there. His manorial rights at Heene, together with the quit-rents, regularly paid, are a portion of the sinecure rectory that was, before it fell into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England. As at Durrington, so here, they ought to have rebuilt the chapel, but their thoughts and inclinations are otherwise, and they must render account by and by, and then, perhaps, those whom Celybin, in the "Battle of Alcazar," calls

"Noblemen brought up in delicate,"

may be ashamed of themselves, and purple prelates, mayhap, may bethink them of the self-denial of Charles Borromeo.

Appertaining to the descent of the manor, it will be enough to mention the names of Wistoneston, de Bavent, and le Falconer, who amongst them possessed both moieties of it. At the dissolution, one moiety was granted to Henry, Earl of Arundel, being part of the endowment of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity at Arundel. "Soon after this," says Cartwright, "the moieties became reunited, for Sir Thomas Palmer, on the 20th of April, 1557, sold the entire manor to Thomas Cooke, whose family had been tenants for many years, under the hospital; and against whom a writ was issued, in the year 1558, to show cause why he held the manor. By an inquisition, held Jan. 12, 1575, it was found that Thomas Cooke, Esq., died seized of the manor of Heen, held of the King in capite, by the sixth part of a knight's fee, at a yearly rent of 1*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, and that John Cooke, his son,

married Margaret Stapleton (sister of Dr. Thomas Stapleton⁶, the celebrated controversialist), and died in his father's lifetime, leaving three sons. On the 20th of February, 1583, Thomas Cooke died seized of this manor, leaving William, his cousin and heir. In 1676, the manor was held by Thomas Arnold, gent., whose son, or grandson, sold it in the year 1709 to Sir Fisher Tench and Thomas Thayer, Esq., trustees under the will of Henry Travies, whose representative, in 1734, alienated it to James Butler, Esq., Worminghurst, of whose granddaughters, Ann Jemima and Patty Clough, it was purchased by Thomas Richardson, Esq., whose son, William Westbrooke Richardson, Esq., is the present possessor."

Selden, in his "History of Tythes," quotes a very remarkable document connected with the history of Heene, and its ancient owners, which must not be omitted here. It will be found at the end of the 10th chapter of that work. "I doubt not," says he, "but that such new erections within old parishes, bred also new divisions which afterward became whole parishes, and by connivance of the time, took (for so much as was in the territory of that *bocland*⁷) the former parochial right that the elder and mother church was possessed of. For that right of sepulture, or

⁶ See the pithy remarks of Fuller, in his *Worthies of Sussex*, p. 111. Amongst others the following is worthy extracting: "Those of his own persuasion, please themselves much to observe, that this *Thomas* was born in the same year and month, wherein Sir *Thomas Moor* was beheaded, as if Divine Providence had purposely dropped from heaven an *acorn* in place of the *oake* that were felled." He was born at Henfield, in this county. See *Athenæ Oxoniæ*, in v., where Wood remarks, "It was generally thought that he deserved a cardinal's cap before Allen; but so it was that his ability being eclipsed by the activity of the other, he did not rise higher than a Dean."

⁷ "*Bocland*,"—explained above to be "land possessed, *optimo jure*, or as inheritance derived from a charter of feoffment." See Cowel and Jacob in v. Somner's words are:—" *Bocland*. Possessio, possessiuncula, territorium, fundus, ager, prædium, a possession, an inheritance, a territory, a ferme or house, with land belonging to it; a close, a field or soile, *ib.* Allodium. Freehold, land of an opposite nature to fief, or fee; as that whereof the owner hath not only *utile*, but *directum dominium*, as lawyers phrase it, *q. d.* charter-land." In v. Spelman says: "*Prædia Saxones duplici titulo possidebant, vel Scripti autoritate, quod bocland vocabant, quasi terram librariam vel codicillarem: vel populi testimonio, quod folkland dixere, id est, terram popularem. Utpote quæ in populum transfuudi poterat, nullo Scripture articulo reclamante. Bocland verò eâ possidendi transferendique lege coerceretur, ut nec dari licuit, nec vendi, sed hæredibus relinquenda erat, ni scriptis aliter permitteretur.*"—*Gloss.* in v.

having a *legerstowe*, was, and regularly is a character of a parish church or *ecclesia*, as it is commonly distinguished from *capella*: and anciently if a *quare impedit* had been brought for a church, whereas the defendant pretended it to be a chapel only, the issue was not so much whether it were church or chapel, as whether it had *baptisterium* or *sepulturam* or no. So it appears in a case of 23 Hen. III., where *William* of *Whitanston*, in his count against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, expresses, *ecclesiam de Hey in Sussex*, to be of his advowson, and the Archbishop pleads, that what he calls a church, *non est ecclesia, imo capella pertinens ad matricem ecclesiam de Terringes, ita quod non est ibi baptisterium neque sepultura, imo omnes qui nascuntur ibidem baptizantur apud Terringes, et similiter omnes qui ibi moriuntur, sepeliuntur apud Terringes, &c.*⁸ And thence was it also that the whole clergy of *England* put the inquiry of such an issue among their grievances, when in 21 Henry III., they desired Otho, the Pope's legate, among other freedoms, to get for them of the King, *Quod iudices seculares non decident causas ecclesiasticas in foro seculari, nec tales homines determinent utrum talis capella debeat habere baptisterium et sepulturam an non.* For if it had the right of administration of sacraments in it and sepulture also, then differed it not from a parish church, but might be styled *capella parochialis*, by which name some chapels are with us known; and in the Saxon times also we find *cœmiterium capellæ*, for the burial-place of a

⁸ The reference in Selden is, "Trinit. Placit. 23 Hen. III. ret. 15, in arce Londinensi." The following extract was sent to the late rector of Tarring, the Rev. Will. Vaux, with Mr. Petrie's compliments:—

"William de Withameston and Robt. le Faton claim the advowson of the church of Hen against Edmund, Arbp. of Canterbury, which they say had descended to them from Ralph, the ancestor of Willm., in the time of Henry II., and Isabell the ancestor of Robt. That is to say, Ralph was the father of William, the father of Henry, the father of William, one of the claimants, and Isabell was the mother of William, the father of Matilda, the mother of Robt., the other claimant.

"The Abp. replied, that Hen is not a church, but a chapel dependent on the church of Terring, inasmuch as neither baptism nor the burial service was performed there, but at Terring, the mother church. To this Willm. and Robt. answer, that it is not a chapel, but a mother church, although neither baptism nor funerals took place there at present; but that baptism had always been celebrated there until the time of Abp. Stephen, since which period it had been intermitted. They admit, however, that it had never been customary to bury at Hen."

(Judgment deferred to the Morrow of All Souls, i. e. to the next Term.)

chapel, which must be understood of a church that had the like right as that which is mentioned in the second part of Edgar's law. And those other churches which in his and king Knout's laws are spoken of, that is, churches without burial-places, *Fel-deyrican*, or *Field-churches*, are only what at this day we call chapels-of-ease, built and consecrated for oratories, but not diminishing any thing of the mother churches' profits."

Whether or not burials ever took place at Heene, has been considered a doubtful point; but a circumstance occurred when the Rev. Edward Phillips was vicar (he was instituted in 1786), which seems conclusive as to the fact that there were funerals there, for on the lowering of the chapel mound so many bones were discovered, that, being in London, he was written to on the subject, and he immediately wrote back to say that no further alterations were to take place. From that time to this the little patch of ground has remained undisturbed,

"Withouten let or yet impediment ⁹,"

and it is now looked upon as a part of the grass-plot in the front of the old farm-house. Why it was ceded, and during whose incumbency is not easily discoverable.

As regards the chapel itself, all that remains may be seen in the annexed engraving¹⁰, and, as in the case of the ruins at Durrington, within a few years more it may be the only record. Nothing whatever is known of the time when it was built, and the crumbling ruin gives no clue to it. The only portion yet standing is a part of the east end, not more than sixteen feet wide. It seems perfectly inexcusable that it should have been allowed to fall to decay. When the indifference to its existence as a separate place of worship first commenced is not clear, but probably it was about 1700. The faculty for taking it down was granted in August, 1766. It is stated that duty had not been done there for some time when the permission was granted. My old parishioner, Daniel Monk, who died at the age of ninety-six, told me that when he was a boy Divine Service was held there once in three weeks, and that he very well remembered Mr. Cutler's uncle being married there; but he added that the fabric was then in a very dilapidated state. The person he alluded to

⁹ Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure.

¹⁰ See note *infra*, p. 252.

is thus entered in the Register: "1747. *William Penfold and Ann Dodson. June 2nd.*" One more marriage is recorded in the old register in the year following,—it is not, however, clear that it was celebrated at Heene, and Mr. Monk was inclined to think that the marriage of Mr. Penfold was the last. Nothing can be proved from the register, as the registries at Tarring, Heene, and Durrington are all separately kept, and have been so kept from the first. As respects christenings and marriages there was never any doubt; the only question is as to whether there were ever burials there, which, I think, may be answered in the affirmative. The old font still remains, and is reverently kept in the farm garden, but it is much broken and defaced. Mrs. Mitchell, who has resided on the farm many years, tells me that she recollects a window *facing the farm*, but it became dangerous, and was "shored up with great shores" for a long time. At last, as the mullions dropped out they were afraid for their pigs and sheep (the chapel-yard being unenclosed), and Mr. Mitchell had it taken down. The keys, said the same authority, are in the hands of my son Mr. Henry Mitchell, "rusty old things, worth nobody's having." The old communion plate (a small cup and paten like the one at Durrington) was for a long time kept at the farm-house, "as long as Mr. Marchant lived there." After his death, "Mrs. Bartlett took it, and left it, as is supposed, to her niece, Mrs. Saunders; but no one ever saw it afterwards, and no further trace of it remains." What neglect is here shown, and how does the evil of peculiars come out? Had there been due and proper visitations, such things never could have been! Lord Brooke was right in saying,

"The ancient Church, which did succeed that light,
In which the Jewes High Priesthood justly fell,
More faithfully endeavoured to unite,
And thereby nearer came to doing well;
Never revealing curious mysteries,
Unless enforced by man's impieties¹."

The only other point I have been enabled to collect relative to the chapel and its precincts is, that it had a single bell. "The last I ever heard of it," said Mrs. Mitchell, "was, that Mr. Butler

¹ Of Human Learning.

of Warminghurst took it, and used it for his dinner bell." I was mentioning this to old James Long the clerk, one day, when he significantly said, "I know it to be true, for when I was young, I went over to Warminghurst, and there I saw and heard it!" It is painful to hear such things of an old church bell, and

"If, according to the wiser law,
There be a high divinity in sound²,"—

this usage of it was as unseemly and as indecorous, to use no harsher term, as well might have been. Better the superstition that Jeremy Taylor tells of than this, for superstition, any day, is preferable to profaneness³. What became of this bell when the property passed into other hands,—when the mansion of Warminghurst "was pulled down, the lake dried up, the timber levelled, and the park converted into a farm⁴,"—deponent saith not, but it had been better left where it was, for it never answers, as many wise and even worldly men have said, to meddle with sacred things, and to turn them from their proper use. There can be little doubt but that much of the stone of the chapel has been worked up into the adjoining buildings. The last mullion of the window I ever saw was in the Heene Field. I turned it over, and underneath it was an adder.

² Drayton.

³ The passage alluded to occurs in the "Preface to the Reader" of the 1st Part of "A Dissuasive from Popery." "I was lately," says he, "within a few months, very much troubled with petitions and earnest requests for the restoring of a bell, which a person of quality had in his hands in the time of, and ever since, the Great Rebellion. I could not guess at the reasons of their so great and violent importunity; but told the petitioners, if they could prove that bell to be theirs, the gentleman was willing to pay the full value of it; though he had no obligation to do so, that I know of, but charity: but this was so far from satisfying them, that still the importunity increased, which made me diligently to inquire into the secret of it. The first cause I found was, that a dying person in the parish desired to have it rung before him to church, and pretended he could not die in peace if it were denied him; and that the keeping of that bell did anciently belong to that family, from father to son; but because this seemed nothing but a fond and an unreasonable superstition, I inquired further, and at last found that they believed this bell came from heaven, and that it used to be carried from place to place, and to end controversies by oath, which the worst men durst not violate, if they swore upon that bell, and the best men amongst them durst not but believe him; that if this bell was rung before the corpse to the grave, it would help him out of purgatory; and that, therefore, when any one died, the friends of the deceased did, whilst the bell was in their possession, hire it for behoof of their dead, and that, by this means, that family was in part maintained." Works, vol. x. p. cxxii.

⁴ See Cartwright, p. 265.

The tithes of Heene have been commuted. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners receive 140*l.* The vicar of Tarring 28*l.*⁵ In the East Field there are two roods and four poles of land belonging to the Arundel poor officers, thus showing the ancient connexion with the Hospital of the Holy Trinity there. It is stated by Cartwright that in the Computus of Robert Cartys, 39 Henry VI., this land was let to John Palyngham for 6*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

The encroachment of the sea upon the parish of Heene is very great. Within twelve years the road into Worthing has twice been swallowed up, and full twelve yards of solid ground have passed into shingle between the Tarring and the Heene Lane during the same period. Old Mr. Monk told me that he recollected land nearly to low water mark; and an aged man named James Carter, who died three or four years ago, said he had sown wheat and ploughed where now there is nothing but sand. There is nothing, therefore, improbable in the following extract from a letter of W. Bray, Esq., the historian of Surrey, given in Cartwright's "History of the Rape of Bramber." It bears date March 3, 1827: "In the year 1755, I was sent to inquire about a wreck, which happened on the coast below Tarring, and which was claimed by the lord of the manor. The tenant went with me to the high water mark, and told me that when he was young (I do not remember his then age) they used to play cricket in the ground on which we stood, and that the sea was then at such a distance that no one ever struck a ball into it. Though so long ago as seventy-two years, I have a perfect recollection of what passed."—p. 20.

The population of the parish in 1841 was 184,—in Heene itself, 147; in Little Heene, which joins upon Worthing, 37. It probably derives its name from its elevation above the sea; *heah* or *hean* in Anglo-Saxon simply meaning high,—above the water mark, that is. So Hanbury in Huntingdonshire, is literally Hean-byrig, that is, high town.

Instead of following the road to Tarring, we diverged from the chapel-yard to the great Heene field, and from thence we gazed on the dear old church with delight, seldom seen with more effect than when the purple light of eve rests upon its time-worn tower, and shingled spire that points to heaven. At any time

⁵ The Vicar of Heene "hath tythe of herrings at Fluetime, called Christ's share," as at Climping. See Dallaway's Rape of Arundel, p. 15.

the church of West Tarring is seen to great advantage from the small path that leads towards it from the mill,—but never do I recollect to have seen it with greater satisfaction than on this occasion, for the evening was lovely as the morn had been, and the day had been one altogether devoted to harmless enjoyment, to the contemplation of the Almighty's works, and those houses of prayer which are the glory and the blessedness of our land. Well tired, we reached the vicarage, and were greeted with a shout of joy from the children !

It had not escaped my notice that Alethes was much struck with a small date which the ladies at the farm in Heene were cherishing in a pot in their parlour window. It had shot vigorously, and was of the liveliest green. On his return he read to the children the following beautiful verses of Mrs. Hemans. They have since learned to repeat them, and they are favourites with the household.

“ THE PALM TREE ⁶.

“ It waved not through an eastern sky,
Beside a fount of Araby ;
It was not fanned by southern breeze
In some green isle of Indian seas ;
Nor did its graceful shadow sleep
O'er stream of Afric, lone and deep.

“ But fair the exil'd palm tree grew
'Midst foliage of no kindred hue ;
Through the laburnums dropping gold
Rose the light shaft of orient mould ;
And Europe's violets, faintly sweet,
Purpled the moss-buds at its feet.

“ Strange look'd it there !—the willow stream'd
Where silv'ry waters near it gleam'd ;
The lime bough lured the honey bee
To murmur by the desert's tree,
And showers of snowy roses made
A lustre in its fan-like shade.

⁶ “ This incident is, I think, recorded by De Lille, in his poem of *Les Jardins*.”
Note of Mrs. Hemans.

“ There came an eve of festal hours—
Rich music fill'd that garden's bowers ;
Lamps, that from flowering branches hung,
On sparks of dew soft colour flung,
And bright forms glanced—a fairy show—
Under the blossoms to and fro.

“ But one, a lone one, 'midst the throng,
Seem'd reckless all of dance and song :
He was a youth of dusky mien,
Whereon the Indian sun had been,
Of crested brow and long black hair—
A stranger—like the palm tree—there.

“ And slowly, sadly, moved his plumes
Glittering athwart the leafy glooms :
He pass'd the pale green olives by,
Nor won the chesnut flowers his eye ;
But when to that sole palm he came,
Then shot a rapture through his frame !

“ To him, to him, its rustling spoke,
The silence of his soul it broke !
It whisper'd of his own bright isle,
That lit the ocean with a smile ;
Ay, to his ear that native tone,
Had something of the sea waves' moan !

“ His mother's cabin home, that lay
Where feathery cocoas fringed the bay ;
The dashing of his brethren's oar—
The conch note heard along the shore ;
All through his wakening bosom swept—
He clasp'd his country's tree and wept !

“ Oh, scorn him not !—the strength whereby
The patriot girds himself to die,
The unconquerable power which fills
The freeman battling on his hills—
These have one fountain deep and clear—
The same whence gush'd that childlike tear !”

Works, vol. v. p. 286.

No. V.

Parochial Fragments, &c.

“ Let not the bluntness of my speech offend—
Weigh but the matter, and not how 'tis penned.”

GEORGE WITHER.

“ Homines sæpe in Ecclesiâ humanis laudibus et honoribus perturbantur.”

AUGUST. *Sermon* LXXV. Tom. v. 414.

“ He that thinks himself less than the greatest sinner, shall not be so great as the least saint in the kingdom of heaven.”

BISHOP HACKET'S *Sermon*, p. 485.

“ The mild and gentle breathings of the Divine Spirit are moving up and down in the world to produce life, and to revive and quicken the souls of men into a feeling sense of a blessed immortality.”

JOHN SMITH'S *Select Discourses*, p. 361.

“ God made the universe and all the creatures contained therein as so many glasses wherein he might reflect his own glory ; he hath copied forth himself in the creation ; and in this outward world we may read the lovely characters of Divine goodness, power, and wisdom.”

Ibid. p. 463.

“ Although the waves beat, and the sea works, and the winds blow, that mind that hath a quiet and clear conscience within, will be as stable and as safe from perturbation, as a rock in the midst of a tempestuous sea, and will be a Goshen to and within itself, when the rest of the world without, and round about a man, is like an Egypt for plagues and darkness.”

SIR MATTHEW HALE'S *Contemplations*, p. 244.

“ An angry, violent, and disturbed man, is like the white bramble of Judæa, of which Josephus reports, that it is set on fire by impetuous winds, and consumes itself, and burns the neighbour plants.”

JEREMY TAYLOR, iii. 35. Ed. Heber.

“ Were the happiness of the next world as clearly apprehended as the felicities of this, it were a martyrdom to live.”

SIR T. BROWNE, *Hydriotaphia*, iii. 486.

Parochial Fragments,

§c. §c. §c.

EUBULUS.

THE children have brought me welcome news, Alethes; they tell me you have letters which admit of your remaining here a few days longer. I hope it is true.

ALETHES.

Happily for me it is. It will give me the opportunity of gulping down more fresh air, as well as of enjoying your conversation. There is much that I wish to talk over connected with the subject last under discussion. It is, at present, an all-absorbing one with us both. I allude, you will at once conjecture, to the efficiency of the ministry, and to that which in many cases retards it,—the inefficiency of their means.

EUBULUS.

And the consequent evil, I suppose,—the combination, I mean, of smaller benefices.

ALETHES.

Rem acu tetigisti. I look upon this as amongst the most unfortunate circumstances attaching to our Church Establishment, and one that should by all means be remedied.

EUBULUS.

The evil has been felt from generation to generation, but it has been too hard to overcome. Nothing but additional endow-

ments can supersede it; and to this, full often, mammon puts in his demurrer, turning *their* hearts to barrenness,

“To whom the riches of the mind do seem
A scornful poverty¹.”

ALETHES.

And that is to nine-tenths of the world. But what has been the effect of the recent Act, Eubulus?

EUBULUS.

You allude, I suppose, to the *Anno Primo et Secundo Victoriae Reginae* cap. cvi., “An Act to abridge the holding of Benefices in Plurality, and to make better Provision for the Residence of the Clergy.”

ALETHES.

The same.

EUBULUS.

It is too early yet to see the fruits of that Act, as it dates but from the 14th August, 1838, but I augur well of it, and some clauses there are in it which must work good.

ALETHES.

If my recollection serves me, it will hereafter hinder more than two preferments being held together.

EUBULUS.

I have always thought that the pith of the Act was contained in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 62nd clauses. As a whole the Act is a good one, but the greatest good is likely to accrue from the clauses here referred to. It was only yesterday that I had occasion to refer to it, and as it lies on the adjoining table, I will read these portions to you.

§ 2. “And be it enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act, no spiritual person holding more benefices than one shall accept and take to hold therewith any cathedral preferment or any other benefice; and that no spiritual person holding any cathedral preferment and also holding any benefice shall accept and take to hold therewith any other cathedral preferment or any other benefice; and that no spiritual person holding any preferment in any cathedral or collegiate church shall accept and take

¹ Wither's Motto.

to hold therewith any preferment in any other cathedral or collegiate church, any law, canon, custom, or usage, or dispensation to the contrary, notwithstanding: Provided, that nothing hereinbefore contained shall be construed to prevent any archdeacon from holding, together with his archdeaconry, two benefices, under the limitations hereinafter mentioned, with respect to distance, joint yearly value, and population, and one of which benefices shall be situated within the diocese, of which his archdeaconry forms a part, or one cathedral preferment in any cathedral or collegiate church of the diocese, of which his archdeaconry forms a part, and one benefice situate within such diocese, or to prevent any spiritual person holding any cathedral preferment, with or without a benefice, from holding therewith any office in the same cathedral or collegiate church, the duties of which are statutablely or accustomably performed by the spiritual persons holding such preferment."

§ 3. "And be it enacted, That except as hereinafter provided, no spiritual person holding any benefice shall accept and take to hold therewith any other benefice, unless it shall be situate within the distance of ten ² statute miles from such first-mentioned benefice."

§ 4. "And be it enacted, That except as hereinafter provided, no spiritual person holding a benefice with a population of more than three thousand persons shall accept and take to hold therewith any other benefice, having, at the time of his admission, institution, or being licensed thereto, a population of more than five hundred persons; nor shall any spiritual person holding a benefice with a population of more than five hundred persons, accept and take to hold therewith any other benefice, having, at the time of his admission, institution, or being licensed thereto, a population of more than three thousand persons; nor shall any spiritual person hold together any two benefices, if, at the time of his admission, institution, or being licensed to the second benefice, the value of the two benefices jointly shall exceed the yearly value of one thousand pounds."

ALETHES.

These clauses are very well as far as they go, but they do not

² This was altered to *three* miles by 13 & 14 *Victorie* c. xcvi. I leave the original as it was written, because it was all in the right way.

touch the real evil, neither can they enhance the value of poverty-stricken benefices. These must be raised somehow or other, or the clergymen's position in society cannot but be lowered. When we come to grapple with real life and hard realities, Massinger's words are too true :

“ For often men

Are like to those with whom they do converse³. ”

The natural consequence of the existing state of things, is that the clergy are either made dependents, or else, in out-of-the-way places, they make those their *associates*, to whom they ought rather to be ensamples of godly life and manners. They “ condescend to men of low estate⁴, ” but in a wrong sense. But I see I have interrupted you, you were about to read on.

EUBULUS.

As the Act was in my hand, I was about to read a part of the 62nd clause, relating to houses of residence.

“ And be it enacted, That upon or at any time after the avoidance of any benefice it shall be lawful for the bishop, and he is hereby required to issue a commission to four beneficed clergymen of his diocese, or if the benefice be within his peculiar jurisdiction, but locally situate in another diocese, then to four beneficed clergymen of such last-mentioned diocese, one of whom shall be the rural dean (if any) of the rural deanery or district, wherein such benefice shall be situate, directing them to inquire whether there is a fit house of residence within such benefice, and what are the annual profits of such benefice, and if the clear annual profits of such benefice exceed one hundred pounds, whether a fit house of residence can be conveniently provided on the glebe of such benefice, or otherwise, &c. &c. &c.”

But I need not read it more at length. The drift of the clause is that the bishop may raise money for the purpose by mortgaging the glebe, tithes, rents, rent-charges, and other profits and emoluments for thirty-five years—the sum raised not exceeding four years' net income and produce of such benefice.

ALETHES.

So that it appears the poverty-stricken benefice is to be

³ New Way to Pay Old Debts.

⁴ Rom. xii. 16.

saddled with an annual payment for thirty-five years, during which time the incumbent is to struggle on as best he may, and with none other consolation, if he survive, than some such saw as this :

“ For all our works a recompense is sure ;
 ’Tis sweet to think on what was hard t’endure ⁵.”

This is really too bad, Eubulus, and although eventually it may be beneficial to the smaller benefices throughout the land, it is a plan that should shame us to better things, and make us “ weep in secret places.” Surely there were other sources whence such a miserable pittance might be derived. The extravagance of the age might yield somewhat from its fuller cup, and a little self-denial in high places might be exercised without damage. One is inclined to burst out with the Roman lyric,

“ Quid nos dura refugimus
 Ætas ? quid intactum nefasti
 Liquimus ? unde manum juventus
 Metu Deorum continuit ? quibus
 Pepercit aris ⁶ ?”

EUBULUS.

It is very bad all this, but I am not inclined to look on it so sorely as you do. Poverty and the clergy, as a body, are pew-fellows, and must so continue. But the Act in question will certainly tend to diminish pluralities, and whenever a house is once built, or a glebe secured, there is certain gain.

ALETHES.

This I admit, of course, though I think all buildings of this sort ought to be looked to with a more scrutinizing eye than they have been. Each and every house should be in proportion to the value of the preferment, unless it were an understood thing that the patron of the benefice, in cases of private patronage, should look to dilapidations. I need not call to your recollection how heavy these fall, full often, on a shallow purse.

EUBULUS.

The evil you allude to is severely felt, and is attracting attention. The rural deans, in most districts, have orders to acquaint

⁵ Herrick's *Hesperides*.

⁶ Hor. i. Od. xxxv. 34.

their ecclesiastical superiors with whatever building is going forward, and, by so doing, they will not only fulfil a duty, but likewise confer a benefit on succeeding incumbents.

ALETHES.

It were hardly too much to say that they will likewise make the widow's heart to sing for joy ; for a clergyman's widow has rarely any spare cash to pay over for dilapidations. One point, however, should not be overlooked by those who fulfil the thankless, but often laborious office you have referred to of rural deans ; they should, I mean, look well to all necessary repairs, and report upon them. In this, as in other matters, *a stitch in time saves nine*. But we have passed on from the mention of pluralities, and I had more to ask. Tell me, then, Eubulus, what you think of Sir Robert Peel's Church Extension Bill : will that tend to mend matters ?

EUBULUS.

I doubt it much ; and I can never think it wise for a present generation to anticipate the resources of a coming one. By so doing, individuals set up a very selfish standard, and make no self-sacrifice. Charles Borromeo would have set a better example.

ALETHES.

You cherish his memory, and so do I ; and for the selfishness of the present time I would say with Parolles, "it is the most inhibited sin of the canon ;" but when sores come to a head and danger is imminent something must be done.

EUBULUS.

'Twere well it was done wisely ! I cannot help thinking we are setting a very sorry example. If our successors do the same, and no additions be made from private means and Christian self-denial, charity will still be thin enough clad. *Laudatur et alget* may be a musty proverb, but never was a truer. However, as you say, necessity has no law, and Sir Robert Peel states in his place, May 5, 1843, that in 1836 there were not less than 3600 parishes in which the income of the incumbent was less than 150*l.* a year. Now it is quite impossible, with such a pittance,

⁷ All's Well that Ends Well.

that the clergy should be enabled to hold that position which it is every way advisable they should hold.

ALETHES.

The statements made on that occasion, Eubulus, were painful and humiliating. The reports on which Sir Robert Peel grounded his assertions were those of 1836, and in them it is declared, "that in many districts of the country where there were parishes of not less than 10,000 persons, there were the most imperfect means of supplying religious instruction to the people, according to the rites of the Church of England; that in this metropolis, and particularly in the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry, York, and Chester, the population had so far outrun the means of religious instruction, that the word of God was never heard by many of the inhabitants of those places. It was stated," continued he, "in the reports to which I have referred, that the extent of church accommodation was but an imperfect list of the evils that arise from this defect in point of pastoral instruction, because in places where church accommodation is most extensive, still there is no assigned district for the minister of the church, and therefore that individual and personal responsibility does not rest on him in the performance of his duty which does attach to him when he has a certain defined circumscribed district for the exercise of his spiritual functions."

EUBULUS.

There can be no question but that there ought to be a district assigned to every clergyman throughout the land, and I therefore think Sir Robert H. Inglis was quite right when he stated in reply, that "the true policy would be to enlarge the old parochial system." By such a proceeding the necessity for pluralities would be curtailed, which I do not well see can be otherwise accomplished, unless the position of the clergy in society is to be lowered, which, as I have said more than once, is to be constantly opposed. That excellent work of Kennett's, "The Case of Impropriations and of the Augmentation of Vicarages and other Insufficient Cures, stated by History and Law from the First Usurpation of the Popes and Monks," will show to any candid reader how much our land would have been blessed by parochial instruction, had the old parochial system been carried out, and

had not priest and people, prince and noble, severally had a hand in that system of spoliation and robbery which has bereft thousands of the bread of life, and was, in fact, the real cause of those pluralities which all, at the first blush, are ready to condemn. We have first of all to thank the Normans, then the Pope, and lastly ourselves, for the mutilated state of our poverty-stricken benefices.

ALETHES.

If so, the State,—which in some sort has succeeded to the usurped authority of the Pope,—and individuals who have to answer for the trust committed to them, should come forward, and, instead of launching forth against pluralities, should “by opposing, end them.” Appropriator and impropiator are both ill words; and the effect is one. But what said Kennett of the former? for the appropriator, after all, was the “*fons et origo mali*.” The cowl, you know, first set the example; and you will not have forgotten the words in the *Chanones Yemannes Tale*:—

“ But all thing, which that shineth as the gold
 Ne is no gold, as I have herd it told ;
 Ne every apple that is faire at eye
 Ne is not good, what so men clap or crie.
 Right so, lo, fareth it amonge us.
 He that semeth the wisest by Jesus
 Is most fool, when it cometh to the prefe ;
 And he that semeth trewest, is a thefe ^s.”

EUBULUS.

If I did not know, Alethes, your love for our Church and her ministrations, and your devoted attachment to our parochial system, I should be tempted to put you down sometimes as too stern a satirist. It is to be hoped things are not quite so bad now as represented in *Piers Plowman*, and *Skelton*, and *Chaucer*, and other the poets of those days, when indignation at the corruptions of the time made them versifiers. But the passage alluded to in Kennett,—let me read it.

“ The way of strictly appropriating parish churches to religious

^s See v. 16430, &c. Tyrwhitt.

houses, or giving them in full right to the monks' absolute property and use, was an engine of oppression brought over with William the Conqueror⁹. When the greatest prelates, being Normans, had the spirit of trampling on the inferior clergy, who were generally English, they increased their pensions, or they subtracted their stipends, and yet loaded them with new services, and every way oppressed them without mercy. And to complete the servile dependency, this artifice was then contrived to obtain indulgence from the Pope, that whatever churches they held in advowson, they should from henceforth commit them to be served by honest clerks, who, as to the cure of souls, should be responsible to the bishop in whose diocese they were; but as to the benefits and all accruing profits, should be alway accountable to the abbot or prior and his brethren.

"And this indeed was effectual *appropriation*, a badge of slavery unknown to the Saxon Churches, brought over by the Norman lords, and imperiously put upon the poor English clergy by the aid and awe of another foreign power—the See of Rome. And between such monastic and papal ambition and avarice, this practice, which crept in with William the Conqueror, in a few reigns became the custom of the land, and the infection spread, till (as a sensible writer computes it) *within the space of three hundred years above a third part, and those generally the richest benefices in England, became appropriated*. The less wonder if we go on to reflect upon the many arts and stratagems that from time to time were made use of to gain this point¹⁰."

Our author then proceeds to tell how this craft worked amongst the Regulars, and how at length the ill example spread from the religious to the secular, and then by a natural course downwards to bodies corporate, and even to single persons. The

⁹ Kennett had before remarked, "This Act of *Appropriation* was certainly invented by monastic men, for a curb and weight upon the secular clergy; but in what year it began cannot be now determined. For indeed all corruptions have a secret rise, and are not in history observed, till the scandal and the complaints do make some noise. Mr. Selden supposes, *That in the Saxon times many appropriated churches are found*—and for special examples of such ancient appropriations, he refers to the recitals of the Charters of King Bertulph, King Beored, and King Edred, made to the Abbey of Croyland, and inserted in Ingulphus. But that great man, who for some reasons was inclined to say thus, could by no means prove it."—p. 22. London. 8vo. 1704.

¹⁰ Ut suprà, p. 23.

case of the latter is important, and for that reason I shall read it to you at full length.

ALETHES.

Shylock said not amiss, "There be land rats and water rats, water thieves and land thieves." But read on, and forgive me.

EUBULUS.

"This ill example of appropriating parish churches spread farther to all bodies corporate, however in law and reason incapable of such a tenure. Soliciting and paying the price at Rome procured the like favour for secular colleges, for chantries, nay, for military orders, for lay hospitals, for guilds and fraternities, and, to carry on the jest, for nunneries; so making knights lay brothers, and very women to be the rectors of parish churches. Though this indeed was grounded on a conceit, that all these were religious societies, and might receive and distribute out the common treasury of the church. For before King Henry VIII. there was no right or precedent for a mere lay person to be an impropiator.

"From corporations this example went on to single persons, not only to deans, chantors, treasurers, chancellors, and separate officers; but at last to the parish priests themselves, who in populous or rich places obtained a vicar to be endowed, and casting upon him the cure of souls, they had the rectory appropriated to them and their successors as a sinecure for ever¹."

ALETHES.

Something of this sort, I suppose, took place at West Tarring, and hence the vicarage is so poor and pitiful a concern.

EUBULUS.

No doubt of it; but of that by and by. Meanwhile, from such and like instances, you will not wonder how the necessity for pluralities increased; and as you hinted, the cowl and the coif, the toga and the prætexta, the esquire and the coronet, had a share in the spoil. Speaking as I do, it were necessary to confess to each one's faults, lest the burden of the old fable should be objected to me:

"Other men's sins we ever bear in mind,
None sees the fardel of his faults behind."

¹ Ut *suprà*, p. 34.

² Herrick's *Hesperides*.

ALETHES.

The work of Kennett's you have been quoting from is valuable in many respects ; but readers and even statesmen of the present day will treat it but as an old almanack. All seem to be rather *novarum rerum studiosi*, than willing to work out the old parochial system ; and many look upon the measure of Sir Robert Peel, above alluded to, as a sort of panacea. Forsooth ! the Government is not to be applied to,—individuals are not to be called to splendid acts of self-denial ; but what saith the statesman *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of the day ?—"It is my duty to state that Her Majesty's Government having maturely considered the subject, feel it their duty to recommend to Parliament in the first instance, a consideration of the means to supply this deficiency, (that is, of parochial ministrations,) to be derived from an application of the ecclesiastical revenues." One scarcely sees any thing in this which is likely to supersede the necessity of pluralities.

EUBULUS.

There is, however, the intent so to do ; and for this the combined assistance of the Queen Anne's Bounty and of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is called in.

ALETHES.

The Queen Anne's Bounty has before this done much good ; but as regards the latter body I augur only ill. To rely upon it is like going down into Egypt for horses and for chariots. It is to strengthen ourself in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt ! At least, the acts of the body up to this time are not such as to engender faith and trust in it. Methinks if the clergy look to them for aid they will be sorely mistaken. "They were all ashamed of a people that could not profit them, nor be an help nor profit, but a shame and also a reproach³."

EUBULUS.

Nay, augur not thus ill, Alethes. There is the wish to do good, and I think the ability, much as I dislike the unholy compact. Let them not hamper themselves by unwise rules and regulations, or back bills, or settle down into a mere board of

³ Isa. xxx. 5.

guardians, and benefits will still accrue to many a parish in the land. As Sir Robert Peel informed the House, the constitution of the Bounty Board was for the superintendence of the sums of money derived from the first-fruits and tenths ; and the funds at its disposal have been very materially augmented by grants from Parliament for several years past, beginning with the year 1808. The object both of the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Bounty Board is, *to provide increased means of religious instruction, to endow new places of worship, and to increase the income of ministers where they are inadequately paid.* In short, as far as their objects are concerned, there is little distinction between them.

ALETHES.

True, Eubulus, as far as their objects are concerned ; but otherwise there is a difference. The one is a case of righteous restoration ; the other is,—but I will not trust myself to say what, for I do abhor

“The seeming truth that cunning times put on
To entrap the wisest⁴.”

EUBULUS.

Still, I maintain, the body may do good. We cannot help its constitution, and it is vain to take up arms against those who command legions ; at least, it is vain for individuals to do so. Acts of Parliament are imperious, and for Parliament itself you will not forget how Lord Clarendon tells that the one of 1641 was “a warm region, where thunder and lightning were made⁵.” Much the same commodity has been compounded in more recent ones.

ALETHES.

True, I do not forget those striking words, neither am I oblivious of that wise reply of the chancellor to the king, when he told him, “That he was very sorry to find his Majesty so much inclined to commissioners, who were indeed fittest to execute all offices according to a commonwealth, but not at all agreeable to monarchy.” However Σπάργαν ἑλαχες, ταύ-

⁴ Merchant of Venice, Act iii. Sc. ii.

⁵ The former passage occurs in book iv. of the History of the Rebellion. See vol. ii. p. 14. The latter in the Continuation of the Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 29.

ταν κόσμα ! You must now make the best of them, and as bondsinen not be cholerie.

EUBULUS.

We bow, as we are obliged, to necessity, and our expectation that some poor livings will be benefited is not vain. That has already resulted from existing arrangements. Then again by Sir Robert Peel's plan of church extension many a populous district will gain the blessing of parochial ministration which has hitherto pined for it. I do not, and I cannot, say that I like his plan ; but every plan proposed must have some objections, and when it has come to this pass that *nec mala nostra nec remedia ferre possumus*, the knot that cannot be untied must be cut. In this, however, I do agree with Sir Robert Peel ; I think, that is, that a congregation once gathered round an exemplary minister will never rest till a material church shall fill the place of what I will call a movable tabernacle. Those that help themselves will be helped :

“ Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie,
Which we ascribe to heaven ; the fated sky
Gives us free scope ; only doth backward pull
Our slow designs, when we ourselves are dull⁶.”

ALETHES.

That, at least, is a truth not to be denied ; but it is one to which the drowsy sluggishness of our nature very soon becomes a stranger. Nine-tenths of the world

“ Will sit and with their fingers play
As idle people do⁷.”

But, as you have the report at your side, I wish you would read what relates more immediately to the settling of ministers in populous districts. The borrowing system I know enough of, and I am alive to the old proverb, “ Those that go a borrowing go a sorrowing ; ” and will leave it to the digestion of the Bounty Board and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

EUBULUS.

The particular passages are these : “ I propose not to apply the money to the building of churches, but for the endowment of

⁶ All's Well that Ends Well, Act i. Sc. i.

⁷ England's Helicon.

ministers, strictly confining it to those populous districts in which the want of religious instruction is most felt. I propose that the money shall be so applied as to excite local activity; for all experience shows, that if you advance a certain sum as the condition of individual exertion, the sum raised by that exertion will far exceed the sum advanced." He then goes on to quote some striking instances contained in the reports of various societies which have acted on this principle, and presently adds: "I would not at all advise that the appointment of ministers should be limited in every case to districts in which churches are opened for their reception. I think the utmost advantage would in some cases result from the appointment of a minister to a district in which there is no church. Great evils arise, not more from the want of church accommodation than from the want of pastoral care, and really I do not know if it would not be best in many cases to appoint ministers, in the first instance, to districts where no church is erected. By all means let us, where there are funds, prepare a building for the purposes of religious worship; but where the funds are not ready, I hope the appointment of a minister of exemplary piety and of great utility will soon cause the erection of a church to follow. Do not let us refuse to plant a minister in a district because it contains no church."

ALETHES.

I am inclined, on this head, to agree with you; but I regret that religious instruction has not been looked to in these densely peopled districts. Had the Church's vine been planted in these places where Mammon has struck deep his roots in the heart's blood of millions, our condition had been far other than what it is. The burden of Ezekiel's lamentation for Jerusalem, under the parable of a wasted vine, still oppresses me. "Thy mother is like a vine in thy blood, planted by the waters; she was fruitful and full of branches by reason of many waters. And she had strong rods for the sceptres of them that bare rule, and her stature was exalted among the thick branches, and she appeared in her height with the multitude of her branches. But she was plucked up in fury, she was cast down to the ground, and the east wind dried up her fruit; her strong rods were broken and withered; the fire consumed them. And now she is planted in

the wilderness, in a dry and thirsty ground. And fire is gone out of a rod of her branches, which hath devoured her fruit, so that she hath no strong rod to be a sceptre to rule. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation⁸."

EUBULUS.

Solemn and sad are the thoughts naturally suggested by the existing state of things in our populous districts. Our forefathers' thoughts and actions seem to have been widely different on the working of a well-regulated parochial system.

ALETHES.

As well as on fit places for worship likewise. Musophilus said, with feeling,—

"Sacred Religion! Mother of Form and Fear!
How gorgeously sometimes dost thou sit decked!
What pompous vestures do we make thee wear!
What stately piles we prodigal erect!
How sweet perfumed thou art; how shining clear!
How solemnly observed; with what respect!

Another time all plain, all quite thread-bare,
Thou must have all within, and nought without;
Sit poorly without light, disrobed;—no care
Of outward grace t' amuse the poor devout;
Powerless, unfollow'd: scarcely men will spare
The necessary rites to set thee out⁹."

But touching the appointment of curates or ministers to places without a church. If I am not mistaken the lamented Dr. Arnold was an advocate for some such plan or other. He had many schemes in which one could not acquiesce; but in this, such is the necessity of the case, one would not unwillingly concur. At the same time, with the noble groundwork of our forefathers, we never ought to have found ourselves in the position we are.

EUBULUS.

"Since 'tis a truth, admitteth no excuse,
To possess much, and yet put nought in use¹,"

⁸ Ezek. xix. 10—14.

⁹ Daniel's Works, vol. i. 375. Ed. 8vo.

¹ Wither's *Shepherds' Hunting*, vol. ii. p. 175.

we must e'en confess that we have squandered talents which are to be accounted for. Our position is *not* what it ought to be. "As for riches," saith Hooker, "to him which hath, and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely²." But I had forgot that Dr. Arnold entertained the views you speak of. Whatever he did or said was in earnest. This said expression of his I have much thought of: "The hopes entertained by many of the effects to be wrought by new churches and schools, while the social evils of their condition are left uncorrected, appear to me to be utterly wild."

ALETHES.

It seems to me that one way, and a most effectual one, to heal these social evils, is to place such clergymen as we could wish to see in the midst of untutored districts.

EUBULUS.

With God's help they would do much. But I should like to turn to Arnold's "Life and Correspondence," and to see what he says.

ALETHES.

You will find what I allude to in one or other of the letters. It is in answer to a request for a subscription to a church. I think I can find it readily. I have it, and will read it to you: "I shall be happy to subscribe 200*l.* towards the endowment of the Church, and not towards the building. *My reason for this distinction is, that I think in all cases the right plan to pursue is to raise funds in the first instance for a clergyman, and to procure for him a definitely marked district as his cure.* The real Church being thus founded, if money can also be procured for the material church, so much the better. If not, I would wish to see any building in the district licensed for the temporary performance of Divine Service, feeling perfectly sure that the zeal and munificence of the congregation would in the course of years raise a far more ornamental building than can ever be raised by public subscription; and that, in the mean time, there might be raised by subscription an adequate fund for the maintenance of a clergyman; whereas, on the present system, it seems perfectly hopeless by any subscriptions in one generation to provide both

² E. P. v. lxxvi. § 3.

clergymen and churches in numbers equal to the wants of the country. I should not have troubled you with my opinions, which I am aware are of no importance to you, did I not wish to explain the reason which makes me, in such cases, always desirous of contributing to the endowment of a minister, rather than to a building³." Such were his sentiments; and I wish he may be wrong in the latter part of the remark which follows: "I crave a strong mind for my children, for this reason, that they then have a chance at least of appreciating truth keenly; and when a man does that, honesty becomes comparatively easy: as, for instance, Peel has an idea about the currency, and a distinct impression about it; and therefore on that point I would trust him for not yielding to clamour; but about most matters, the Church especially, he seems to have no idea; and therefore I would not trust him for not giving it all up to-morrow, if the clamour were loud enough."

EUBULUS.

Arnold wrote, as he thought, with severity. It is true that many of us have not had reason to be contented with Sir Robert Peel's measures relative to the Church, and as regards the Roman Catholic question,—*hæret lateri lethalis arundo*; but I do not think myself that he would willingly betray us. As for the imputations thrown against his own religious views,—

"The shrug, the hem, the ha,—those petty frauds
That calumny doth use,"—

I take no heed to them; and, for mine own part, I believe him just and honest, even if calculating, as a politician.

ALETHES.

Well, well! You know what Autolycus said: "Though I am not naturally honest, I am sometimes so by chance⁴." But to revert again to the question of pluralities. The Church Extension Act can in no way affect them; it will rather increase than diminish the number of small livings.

EUBULUS.

This must be in the natural course of things. The fact is that

³ Vol. ii. p. 174. 57.

⁴ Winter's Tale, Act iv. Sc. iii.

those who are appointed to such charges will usually be young and energetic men. It is here that in the capacity of curates they must serve their first campaigns as ordained ministers in the service of the Church militant. To such labourers will the text apply: "They that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith, which is in Christ Jesus ⁵."

ALETHES.

Neither is there any nobler post! But herein nothing but self-denial will serve,—nothing but an utter renunciation of worldly views, and worldly prospects. Under such circumstances, and with the spirit of prayer, great may be the results. A little one may become a thousand; for—

"He that of greatest works is finisher,
Oft does them by the weakest minister.

* * * * *

Oft expectation fails, and most oft then
When most it promises; and oft it hits
When hope is coldest, and despair most sits ⁶."

EUBULUS.

In such a view of things there is wisdom. Then, as regards pluralities, I think, as I said, that the former Act alluded to will by degrees lessen the evil. Besides, there is an evident disinclination, now-a-days, to be a pluralist. A proper sense *within* acts upon many; and the pressure from *without* constrains some. You recollect Lord Bacon's "Theological Tracts," and amongst them the two papers "Touching Non-Residents and Pluralities," and "Touching the Provision for sufficient Maintenance in the Church." Hear what he says in the beginning and conclusion of the former. Succeeding centuries can only confirm the truth:—

"For non-residence, except it be in the case of necessary absence, it seemeth an abuse drawn out of covetousness and sloth; for that men should live of the flock, that they do not feed, or of the altar at which they do not serve, is a thing that can hardly receive just defence."

⁵ 1 Tim. iii. 13.

⁶ All's Well that Ends Well, Act ii. Sc. i.

ALETHES.

A truer word was never spoken. But what next?—

EUBULUS.

“Although this age will not abide to hear
The faults reproved that custom hath made dear⁷,”

it may possibly listen to one who has a name for wisdom which will survive as long as learning shall advance.

“For pluralities, in case the number of able ministers were sufficient, and the value of benefices were sufficient, then pluralities were in no sort tolerable. But we must take heed we desire not contraries. For to desire that every parish should be furnished with a sufficient preacher, and to desire that pluralities be forthwith taken away, is to desire things contrary; considering “*de facto*,” there are not sufficient preachers for every parish; whereunto add likewise, that there is not sufficient living and maintenance in many parishes to maintain a preacher; and it maketh the impossibility yet much the greater. The remedies “*in rerum naturâ*,” are but three, union, permutation, and supply. Union of such benefices as have the living too small, and the parish not too great, and are adjacent. Permutation, to make benefices more compatible, though men be overruled to some loss in changing a better for a nearer. Supply, by stipendiary preachers, to be rewarded with some liberal stipends, to supply, as they may, such places as are unfurnished of sufficient pastors: as Queen Elizabeth, amongst other her gracious acts, did erect certain of them in Lancashire; towards which pensions I see no reason but leading ministers, if they have rich benefices, should be charged⁸.”

ALETHES.

The late lamented Dr. Burton somewhere or other dropped a hint of this sort; but I believe it met with no encouragement. The truth is apparent to all; but to remedy the evil is the difficulty. After all said and done, it must be allowed that Archbishop Parker’s sentiments on this head carry weight; and he and Lord Bacon would very well have agreed, had they

⁷ Wither’s Satire from the Marshalsea, vol. ii. p. 44.

⁸ Bacon’s Works, vol. vii. pp. 91. 93.

descended to particulars. "It was his judgment," says Strype, "that the port of a bishop ought to be preserved, for his better countenance in the world; which is apt to despise the function, when those that are of it are poor, and live nearly. And though he did not like of *commendams* nor pluralities, yet in small bishoprics and preferments he thought them a less inconvenience, than that their hospitality and the credit and esteem of the clergy should be lost. Whereby religion itself might be subject to the contempt of the people; and lest any might object that the clergy were to be kept poor upon political accounts, he thought the Church had been sufficiently stripped, to prevent any evil that might arise to the commonwealth at any time from their pride or faction⁹."

EUBULUS.

What had the good man said had he lived till now?

ALETHES.

More than any thing else he would have regretted opportunities lost. For instance: it has been usual when any very hard grip has been laid on Church revenues to make a show of friendship, and to express a desire that poor livings should be benefited, and pluralities curtailed. Half a loaf being admitted to be better than no bread, the defenders of the Church's patrimony have been obliged to compound, and to save what they could. But, when they have had the opportunity of helping poor livings, have they done so? We usually think most of those nearest our own times. Have, then, your present Ecclesiastical Commissioners done so?

EUBULUS.

In many cases they have, as far as their means allowed.

ALETHES.

I am afraid it is a discordant body, Eubulus; and Episcopal palaces are provided for, when many a country parsonage, and a

⁹ Life of Matthew, Abp. of Canterbury, vol. i. p. 294. Abp. Whitgift's answer to the Petition of the Commons House in 1584 was much to the same purpose: "Pluralities I told them could not bee taken away, without discouraging the best sort of ministers, and taking away the reward of learning." Life, vol. i. p. 360. The regulation drawn up by the bishops is given in the Records and Originals, vol. iii. p. 133. The distance of benefices held in plurality was then restricted "to thirtie miles at the furthest, unless they be within the same shyre."

country living is unheeded. The weakest, as usual, go to the wall. Skelton would not have passed such matters over in his "ragged verse," but would have told some home truths. A satirist¹ every now and then does good; and ridicule will often cut deeper than either measured censure or "stuffed sufficiency." Lines like the following contain much in them which is not to the purpose. But as he did not write without rhyme, so neither did he without reason:—

"For they will have no lesse
Of a penny, nor of a crosse
Of their predial landes
That cometh to their hands.
And as far as they dare set,
All is fysh that cometh to net;
Building royally
Their mancions curiously,
With turrets, and with toures,
With halles, and with bowers,
Strechinge to the starres,
With glasse windowes and barres,

¹ So thought old "Ver" in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, when "transported quite, to these exclaims he fell :"—

"Lives no man, that this world her grievous crimes dare tell?
Where be those noble spirits for ancient things that stood?
When in my prime of youth I was a gallant blood:
In those free golden days, it was the Satyrs use
To tax the guilty times, and rail upon abuse:
But soother find the way preferment most to win:
Who serving great men's turns, become the bawds to sin."

Song the Sixteenth, vol. iii. p. 955.

The passage following, on this head, is from a work of considerable notoriety in its day: "Yet in the darkest of these times, there wanted not some that could discern that all was not right, and that they were gotten into a very uncertain and dangerous road; and in as much danger from their guides, as the enemy which they would avoid. Some of them, in a more serious way, protesting and advising both against the error and the danger of it, had their mouths soon stopped; when others, more jocular, between jest and earnest, as it were, made bold with the corruptions and abuses of the times,—witness the wits and satirists of their respective times,—Rob. of Gloucester, John Harding, Jeffrey Chaucer, John Gower, Rob. Langland, alias Piers Plowman, Lydgate, and many more, whose dull rhimes (?) carried a cutting sense with them. Indeed, though the lashes of a satirist seldom or never produce amendment of epidemical vices and errors, yet in this they know their fruit, that thereby posterity is oftentimes more truly informed of the manners and genius of times, than by the professed historian, who rarely touches that string," &c. &c. Staveley's *Roman Horse-Leech*, p. 202.

Hangyng about the walles,
Clothes of gold and palles,
Arras of ryche arraye,
Fresh as floures in May.

* * * * *

Now truly to my thinkyng
That is a speculation,
And a mete meditacion,
For prelates of estate
Their courage to abate
From worldly wantonnes,
Their chambre thus to dres
With such purfatnes,
And all such holynes,
Howbeit they let down fall
Their churches Cathedral.

* * * * *

That the people talke thus,
Somewhat there is amis,
The devill cannot stop their mouthes,
But they will talke of such uncouthes,
All that ever they ken
Against all spiritual men ²."

To say the truth, Eubulus, I have been much distressed at a recent act of neglect in your own neighbourhood. The Ecclesiastical Commission, at different times, have made a show of benefiting small livings, and have published lists of those so benefited. In so doing, with the bishops at the head of them, they have, of course, done well. It was right also, as opportunity and means offered, that those, the Fathers of the Church, should be well provided with Episcopal residences, suited to their station and dignity. There is no man living thinks this more necessary than I do,—no one who has viewed with more distrust the defalcation of those revenues, which to the world have appeared overgrown and swollen, as our old writers might

² "The Boke of Colin Clout." The lines quoted here are as they are written in Southey's *British Poets*, from Chaucer to Jonson,—a most valuable collection. They are slightly altered in Mr. Dyce's edition, and are numbered vv. 930—945. 971—981. 1051—1056. Vol. i. pp. 347, 348, 352.

have said, to a tympany³. This should all be done decently and in order; and in that case such "ragged and jagged" censure,—satirical abuse, if you would rather,—as is conveyed in Skelton's lines, would find no inequality of surface where to stick. But when Peter is to be robbed to pay Paul, the case is altered, and the eyes of all are naturally turned to the proceedings; and idiots will comprehend, as well as learned clerks, that self-interest (somehow or other) is concerned in them. And then, of course, all this is so much the worse when it is done under the specious plea of reformation of abuses, amendment of what is wrong, and a fairer and more equitable distribution of over-accumulated property. Jeremy Taylor's pithy observation is much to the point: "In vain it is to wash a goblet, if you mean to put into it nothing but dead lees and vap of wine⁴."

EUBULUS.

I suppose you are thinking of the combined benefices of Patching and Tarring, and the opportunity, apparently lost, of their separation, and the consequent consolidation of the rectorial and vicarial tithes of the latter. Certainly it was to be expected that when the sinecure rectory fell, so proper and so righteous an act would not have been omitted. But Hooker spake not without purpose of "the daily *bruises* that spiritual promotions use to take by the often *falling*⁵."

ALETHES.

It seems to me that there is no possible excuse for the omission. One of the very express objects of the Ecclesiastical Commission was for this purpose. Such at least would appear to be the simple meaning of sect. 55 in the *Act to carry into effect, with certain modifications, the Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues*. Matters of law are not easily comprehended by the uninitiated, but surely there is no difficulty in the words which follow: "That if in any case it shall appear to be expedient, on account of the extent, or population, or other

³ So Gauden in his *Hieraspistes*: "When yet they bring forth, after all their *swelling and tympanies*, nothing comparable to what others in an orderly way have done." To the reader, p. 8, &c., *infra*, p. 379. "Puffed up with their *tympanies* of self-conceptions." So Hammond, Jer. Taylor, Hales of Eaton, &c. &c.

⁴ Works, vol. xii. 491.

⁵ Eccles. Pol. v. xxxi. § 4.

peculiar circumstances of the parish or district in which any such rectory without cure of souls shall be situate, or from the incompetent endowment of the vicarage or vicarages, or perpetual curacy or curacies, dependent on such rectory, to annex the whole or any part of the lands, tithes, or other hereditaments or endowments belonging to such rectory, to such vicarage or vicarages, curacy or curacies, such annexation may be made, and any such vicarage or curacy may be constituted a rectory with cure of souls by the authority hereinafter provided."

EUBULUS.

Certainly, as Shakspeare says, this "is plain as way to parish church⁶."

ALETHES.

But to neglect to act up to such instructions, is not the way to bring people to their parish church. You are aware, at this moment, of the evil surmises that are afloat against the body of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on this very account.

EUBULUS.

I lament to say I am, but the body has been advertised of it, and they have acted with their eyes open.

ALETHES.

They have bid the vicar, I suppose, go starve; and they have given, if report be square with them, nothing to the poor, forgetful of the blessing consigned unto those who devise liberal things for others rather than for themselves. Or, may be, their answer has been not much different from the well-known reply of Sir Francis Knollys to certain reasons of Archbishop Whitgift's: "Good men will more desyre to feede theyre flocke, than to regarde the wolle or the mylke of their flocke⁷."

⁶ As You Like It, Act ii. Sc. vii.

⁷ See Strype's Whitgift, vol. i. p. 382. But see what was said above. The words following occur in "Petition to the Queen (Elizabeth), that the Bill against Pluralities pass not." "It doth not reform the things which it pretendeth to redress; it permitteth and increaseth them rather. The only thing it doth principally intend is the impoverishing and embasing the clergy, whereupon will ensue the utter contempt both of their persons and of their doctrine." Ibid. p. 384. With the real desire that now exists to put down Pluralities, it will be a pity if any cause for a like remark be allowed to remain. *Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour: so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honour.* Eccles. x. 1.

EUBULUS.

The desire of the vicar was not to impede the counsels of a body so sufficiently constituted to act justly. He did all that was permitted him to do, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose peculiar the benefice referred to is,—and then obeyed as a subaltern ought to do.

ALETHES.

I am aware of it,—I am aware of it, Eubulus! But, depend upon it, a more unwise step was never taken than that which the Board in Whitehall-place has decided on. Boards, proverbially, have no consciences;—it is well that individuals have. It was but the other day, you may recollect, that in a walk over that extensive parish, one of the most influential farmers expressed his regret that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had not at once given up the rectorial tithes to the vicar in these pithy words, which I treasured up at the time and committed them to paper: “It is a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence with them, as with the rest of the world, and they have no regard to just any more than to unjust claims;—they merely meet and bandy words in Whitehall-place, and *their words are mere dumps*”;^{*} a local phrase, which means worthless leaden counters, such as children play with.

EUBULUS.

Such expressions are not to be too literally interpreted.

ALETHES.

True: but what has since occurred shows how strong the feeling of injustice was. Not only have the parishioners at large, but, as I am told, the non-resident landlords have petitioned against the unjust conclusion,—decision, I should rather call it,—of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A feather, you know, will show which way the wind blows. Not that the determination of the parishioners and of the landlords is a light one,—on the contrary, it is deliberate, weighty, solid, and of import. What an opportunity has indeed been lost! I bethink me of those

^{*} “A clumsy medal of lead, cast in moist sand.” W. Holloway’s General Dictionary of Provincialisms. He refers to Norfolk and Suffolk for it. Sussex might have been added. Grose, in his Dict. of the Vulgar Tongue, gives the same sense of it.

words of the Allobrogian ambassador, in Ben Jonson's "Cati-line," and am sorrowful. They relate, I need not remind you, to Cicero, but they are applicable elsewhere :—

" This magistrate hath struck an awe into me,
And by his sweetness won a more regard
Unto his place, than all the boist'rous moods
That ignorant greatness practiseth, to fill
The large, unfit authority it wears.
How easy is a noble spirit discern'd
From harsh and sulphurous matter, that flies out
In contumelies, makes a noise, and stinks!
May we find good and great men; that know how
To stoop to wants and meet necessities,
And will not turn from any equal suits!
Such men, they do not succour more the cause
They undertake with favour and success,
Than by it their own judgments they do raise,
In turning just men's needs into their praise⁹."

Doubtless, Eubulus, you acted conscientiously, and wisely, and in deference to your diocesan, in not publicly putting forward so strong and palpable a case; but something less than a rogue like Autolycus might say jeeringly, " Ha, ha ! what a fool honesty is ! and trust, his sworn brother, a very simple gentleman ¹ !"

EUBULUS.

The stand was made which ought to have been made for the sake of the parish ; beyond that the vicar was not concerned.

ALETHES.

But what, after all, are the real facts ? I should like to know them, as our present discussion is more or less connected with them, and one must not implicitly trust to popular statements, especially under excitement.

EUBULUS.

The simple facts are these. West Tarring comprehends a sinecure rectory and a vicarage, together with what are called the extinct chapelries of Heene and Durrington, over which the vicar of West Tarring has the spiritual charge. The population

⁹ See Act iv. Sc. i.

¹ Winter's Tale, Act iv. Sc. iii.

is about 1000. The parishes are extensive,—five miles from end to end, and of a great circuit,—the people all poor, and no resident gentry. The emoluments of the vicar are, under commutation,—for West Tarring, 111*l.* 5*s.*; for Heene, 28*l.*; for Durrington (near 200 souls), a modus of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Besides this there is a stipend of 20*l.* payable from the rector, a charge that is on the sinecure. The late rector (than whom there could have been none better), owing to the poverty of the place, and the heavy calls upon the vicar, made the payment 40*l.*

So poor was West Tarring considered, now near a century ago, that a licence was granted in the seventh year of George the Third's reign, to unite it to the rectory of Patching, nearly five miles distant; and, Richard Rycroft, being then rector of Patching, a faculty likewise was granted for pulling down the rectory-house there, and for using the materials to repair the vicarage of Tarring. After the expenses of the curate, charities, &c. &c. paid, the vicar of Tarring may now receive about 130*l.* from Patching.

The combination of four parishes—West Tarring, Heene, Durrington, and Patching—is, of course, no slight evil; and so it appeared to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as to the present excellent and amiable Primate, whose peculiar, as before observed, they are. The object of both was, when a convenient occasion offered, to separate Patching altogether, and to unite or consolidate the rectorial and vicarial tithes of West Tarring, Heene, and Durrington;—the chapels of the latter being in ruins, and there being full room enough in the present parish church for the collected congregation of the three.

From whatever cause Archbishop Sutton was unable to complete his wish, neither could the present² Archbishop of Canterbury bring about the desired consummation, which he so much aimed at, some thirteen years ago,—some mistake or misunderstanding was an impediment. However, on or about the last day of December, 1844, the late rector died, and then the opportunity, as the world thought, again occurred. But, meanwhile, all sinecure rectories fell into the hands of the Ecclesiastical

² This, it is to be recollected, was written some years ago. Archbishop Howley is referred to.

Commissioners. (3 and 4 *Victoria* c. 113.) According to a particular and special clause, above referred to, and which now forms a part and parcel of this self-same Act they might have consolidated, and the Archbishop of Canterbury evidently expected they would do so. To have done it would have been but an act of even-handed justice, and certainly it seemed but in accordance with the Act itself, and with that resolution issued by the Board, 15th April, 1845. *Resolution IX.* "That tithes, or lands, or other hereditaments allotted or assigned in lieu of tithes, vested in the Commissioners, shall not in any case be sold, until due consideration shall have been had of the wants and circumstances of the places in which such tithes arise, or have heretofore arisen." And not only so, but such an Act would appear to be altogether in unison with preconceived opinion on the subject, as well as with the express sentiments of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Stanley, uttered by them severally in their places on the debate on the Welsh bishoprics, Friday, May 2nd, 1845. Than the words of the latter nothing can be more intelligible, unless they are to be counted but as words: "One word with regard to the sinecure rectories. The 3 and 4 *Victoria* c. 113. 5. 55. provides for the annexation of lands or tithes to rectories, when expedient. The first charge upon those sinecure rectories, which at present contribute nothing to the service of religion, is to provide for the spiritual wants of the parishes from which they are taken."

ALETHES.

And why, in the name of all that is just, have the Ecclesiastical Commissioners so sadly neglected their duty?

EUBULUS.

Report says,—("I will tell it softly, yon crickets shall not hear it³?")—they have hampered themselves with some private rules and regulations, and that they are ill agreed amongst themselves.

ALETHES.

That such a body should be at variance is hardly to be credited, and if at variance it will not long stand. Then, to have hampered themselves as report says they have, is a most unwise proceeding. But even here, *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*, and a

³ Winter's Tale, Act ii. Sc. i.

single example of just deviation from private rule or regulation is no prejudice to principle or law. The rather, it would confirm other instances, and be a sort of *sepes legis*, which the Jews say tithes are. Again, if they have the power to make, they have the power to rescind. But to say the truth, Eubulus, I don't think they have the inclination to take the resolute step they ought to do. And, indeed, the thought crosses me, that what Butler says in his "Thoughts on Various Subjects," is no Hudibrastic sarcasm, but a painful verity: *This age will serve to make a very pretty farce for the next, if it have any wit at all to make use of it*⁴. It's money, money, money!

"Protinus ad censum: de moribus ultima fiet Quæstio."—*Juv. Sat.* iii. 140.

EUBULUS.

I am inclined to think there is a wall in the way which they cannot leap over. So convinced am I of the uprightness and of the integrity of purpose of very many who constitute a part of this commission, that I cannot but arrive at some such conclusion.

ALETHES.

Possibly there may be. But methinks, as Bishop Corbett said, we must look out,

"—lest they take us

And use us worse than Hercules used Cacus⁵!"

But, jesting apart. By not consolidating the rectorial and vicarial tithes the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will set a bad example, and deter *lay impropiators* from following up what they have begun. You know how it is said that they shall consider themselves absolved from further assistance by that body which is *in loco Papatûs*;—how many of them are under the impression that the Ecclesiastical Commission is indifferent to the claims of the poorer clergy, altogether oblivious of those remarkable words of Archbishop Whitgift to Queen Elizabeth, as recorded in Izaak Walton's "Life of the learned and judicious Hooker:" "*Madam, Religion is the foundation and the cement of human Societies: and*

⁴ Butler's Remains, vol. ii. p. 475. Thyer.

⁵ Bp. Corbett's Poems, p. 77. Ed. Gilchrist, 1807.

when they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible, as you may already observe in too many poor vicarages in this nation."

There is likewise another point which, at the present moment, when so many have their faces toward Rome, ought to have influenced their consultations, and it is this: by depriving vicarages of a proper endowment, in accordance with the times, Ecclesiastical *Protestant* Commissioners will refuse to grant what Romanists granted at the Tridentine Synod⁶. I am not fond of hard names, but one might take advice from that ἀκροτελεύτιον in the *Metamorphoses*,

"Fas est et ab *hoste* doceri!"

Indeed, Mr. Lambard, in his "Perambulation of Kent," (as quoted by Kennett,) was not far wrong, even although his words were grating: "An appropriation is amongst many of those monstrous births of covetousness, begotten by the *Man of Rome*, in the dark night of *superstition*, and yet suffered to live in the day-light of the Gospel, to the great hindrance of learning, the impoverishment of the ministry, and the infamy of our profession."

EUBULUS.

He spoke strongly, Alethes.

⁶ Cf. Sess. vii. c. vii. and Sess. xxv. c. xvi. de Reformatione. Happily our poorest pastors are borne up with when they conscientiously perform their duties; and that remark of Montaigne's is found true, "Nous sommes, chascun, plus riches que nous ne pensons." *Essai*, Livre iii. c. xii. Tome vi. p. 7. Ed. 1822.

The case of Trent is particularly mentioned by Kennett in his "Parochial Antiquities," &c. "The very Council of Trent were so ashamed of this violation of parochial rights, that they not only ordained, that a benefice not exceeding the yearly value of one hundred ducats, should not be charged with any pension to be deducted from the maintenance of the incumbent: but that the ecclesiastical benefices secular, which had cure of souls, should not be converted into a simple benefice by impropriation; and in livings already appropriated, where a fit portion had not been reserved, or could not be conveniently assigned for endowment of a vicar, there the whole benefice should be annexed to the cure." And in vicarages before ordained, "if a congruous portion of the fruits were not allotted to the vicar, an augmentation should be made within one year after the end of the council. Nay, and all appropriations made within the last fourteen years should be dissolved." Though had this last order been executed, it had signified no more than if an old extortioner in his last will had made restitution of all his unlawful gains within the last seven years of his life, when his remaining estate would be still the plentiful rapine of many precedent years."—Vol. ii. p. 47. Ed. 4to. 1818.

ALETHES.

But he spoke the truth, and the truth is the more real when we consider that, as Luther said, every one carries "Pope Self" about with him. At all events, neither appropriations any more than impropriations are the peculiar of the so-called Man of Rome.

EUBULUS.

You are right. Covetousness is their foster-father, and individuals can grant themselves dispensations without going to Rome.

ALETHES.

Let that pass as an acknowledged truth. But it is sadly to be regretted, Eubulus, that Patching and Tarring are not to be separated⁷. Besides the matter of the plurality, altogether to be deprecated, it might have been borne in mind that the honest and industrious ecclesiastical annalist and historian, John Strype, was some time rector of the latter—that his writings have turned out to be of the greatest value—and that these are not times to discourage religious and useful learning; and if not, then, means and retirement should not be denied to those who might be likely to follow in his steps, especially when the Church had those means in her own hands. Again, it might have been borne in mind that the learned Selden was born at Salvington, a hamlet of the parish of West Tarring, and the question might have been asked, whether he had any reason to be satisfied with the appropriation here, in his minority? or rather, whether from seeing the poor vicar "shorn and pilled," he might not have taken up those notions which are visible enough in his great work, however he may have been compelled unwillingly to retract, and to sing a *Palinodia*?

EUBULUS.

Your mention of John Strype is, I think, felicitous. We do not want pluralities, neither do we want sinecures; but we do want places of retirement for laborious divines, and a resting-place after toils. But, alas! we see no tokens left. All fluctuates now "with the Euripus of funds and actions,"—a thing which, as

⁷ As stated before, in a note, this is now done; but as the vicar gives up the Rectory of Patching, the stipendiary emolument to Tarring is greater in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' figures than in reality.

regards Church property, the enlightened Edmund Burke thought never could come to pass. How would he have been surprised at the powers of the Ecclesiastical Commission who wrote thus : " It is from our attachment to a church establishment that the English nation did not think it wise to entrust that great, fundamental interest of the whole to what they trust no part of their civil or military public service ; that is, to the unsteady and precarious contribution of individuals. They go further. They certainly never have suffered, and never will suffer, the fixed estate of the Church to be converted into a pension ; to depend on the treasury, and to be delayed, withheld, or perhaps to be extinguished by fiscal difficulties ; which difficulties may sometimes be pretended for political purposes, and are in fact often brought on by the extravagance, negligence, and rapacity of politicians. The people of England think they have constitutional motives, as well as religious, against any project of turning their independent clergy into ecclesiastical pensioners of the state. They tremble for their liberty from the influence of a clergy dependent on the crown ; they tremble for the public tranquillity from the disorders of a factious clergy, if it were made to depend upon any other than the crown. They, therefore, made their Church, like their king and their nobility, independent⁸."

ALETHES.

Fiscal difficulties are already beginning to show themselves in the distance, like what are called "white horses" out at sea,—those forerunners of the storm. For example, the repeal of the corn laws, which must sooner or later take place, will show the short-sighted wisdom of converting tithes into a corn-rent. The clergy must suffer by it, and become less independent ; and very likely, before many years are past and gone, they will have become what Burke so much deprecated, "Ecclesiastical pensioners of the state." Then again for the Ecclesiastical Commission ; it, be assured, will never ride out a revolutionary storm. It has much ado to keep afloat in the calm and in the sunshine of peace. Its timbers are already cracking, and those at the helm are aware too late that they have taken upon them-

⁸ Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* : quoted in that very useful and well-timed work, *Wordsworth's Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. p. 110.

selves to steer a vessel which is not sea-worthy ;—its planks were not of honest wood, not heart of oak. How painfully true are those lines of Hudibras which declare in vein satiric,—

“That all our scouting of religion
Began with tumults and sedition :
When hurricanes of fierce commotion
Became strong motives to devotion :
As carnal seamen, in a storm
Turn pious converts and reform⁹.”

EUBULUS.

That sarcasm would apply rather to mob-reformers than ecclesiastical. It had, to my knowledge, been the custom of the chapter at Christ Church, Oxford, to augment their small livings as far as they could, long previous to the bringing in of the present Archbishop of Canterbury's bill for that purpose, 1 & 2 *Will. IV.*, cap. 45 ; and we must thankfully acknowledge that many lay patrons were fully alive to their responsibilities.

ALETHES.

The less excuse then, Eubulus, for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners not having consolidated the rectorial and vicarial tithes of West Tarring. What was the object of good men, and the intent of a good bill, ought not to have been absent from their cogitations. By so doing they had abolished a plurality, and made a benefice. As it is, they stand in the unenviable position of monkish appropriators, and I would call the attention of their

“Most potent, grave, and reverend seniors”

to the passage following, from “Kennett on Impropriations.”

EUBULUS.

As Florizel says to Camillo in the “Winter's Tale,”—

“I am bound to you,
There is some sap in this¹⁰.”

ALETHES.

Then hear : “Even the monks in a case that was not immediately their own could represent it as a matter of honesty to

⁹ Hudibras, Part iii. Canto ii. v. 533, &c.

¹⁰ Act iv. Sc. iii.

disappropriate a church, and restore it to the better uses of the parish priest. As when the church of *Reculver*¹, in Kent, had been appropriated to the hospitals of *Herbaldown* and *North Gate*, Henry Prior, and his monks of Canterbury, did constitute their proctor 'to ask, receive, and consent that the church of *Reculver* should be restored to its ancient state, and should be again served by a fit rector, as it used to be of old. Nay, and to provide that the church for the future should by no means be appropriated to any dignity, college, or collegiate church, or be made prebendal.' And the archbishop in his Instrument of Dissolution did declare, 'That the said appropriation did redound to the grievous prejudice and manifold loss of the parish church, which he now therefore recalled to its ancient state.'

"By the same rules of equity, if a clergyman held the rectory appropriate as a sinecure distinct from the vicarage endowed, when on the death of any vicar he had a mind to serve the Church himself in person; he then obtained this favour from the bishop, that the vicarage should be extinguished, or consolidated to the rectory; that the whole benefice might go along with the whole duty of the place. Thus in a vacancy of the vicarage of *Takkela Com. Oxon*², Master Roger, rector of the same church, affirming that the vicarage was not ordained by the regular consent of all parties concerned, did petition that the same vicarage might be consolidated with the rectory, if the bishop, upon due inquisition, did so consolidate.

"Such instances of disappropriation are common in our

¹ Reculver is ten miles north-east by north of Canterbury, containing 286 inhabitants. It is a vicarage with that of Hoath annexed. The Archbishop of Canterbury is both patron and appropriator. The appropriate tithes are commuted for 575*l.*; the vicarial for 128*l.*

Reculver Church was taken down in 1813, owing to the encroachments of the sea, from which, in Leland's time, it was half a mile distant. (See *Itin.* vol. vii. p. 127. Ed. 8vo. 1744.) A new church was then built at Hillborough, a hamlet about a mile distant. Little remains of the old structure except the towers, which are kept in repair by the Corporation of Trinity House, whose property it now is. Reculver was founded in the seventh century on land granted by Egbert, King of Kent, and A.D. 949 was annexed by King Eadred to Christ Church, Canterbury.

² The modern spelling is "*Takley*." It is three miles and a half north-east of Woodstock, and contains 583 inhabitants. The living is a rectory, commuted for 750*l.*, in the patronage of the President and Fellows of St. John's. Stapelgrove, below mentioned, is a mile and a half from Taunton, from which it was separated in 1554. It is a rectory, commuted for 205*l.*, with a population of 471 souls.

registers before the Reformation. One of the last seems to have been that of the church of *Stapelgrove*, near Taunton, which in the reign of Queen Mary was disappropriated, and rightly made presentative for ever, by joint consent of the patron, the queen, and the ordinary³."

EUBULUS.

Conflicting interests have hindered much good in our parishes. The union you here refer to of patron, queen, and ordinary, in a good act, is an example to be followed.

ALETHES.

And one which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England have lost caste by not following. Twice already they have altered their intentions with respect to West Tarring and Patching, and take my word for it they will alter them again. They cannot leave matters as they are, and render up an honest account. Their first proposal was, I think, to separate Patching, and to do nothing for Tarring with its poor population of a thousand souls.

EUBULUS.

Not exactly so, though their offer was equal to nothing.

ALETHES.

Foh! "Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice. His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff; you shall seek all day ere you find them; and when you have them they are not worth the search⁴." They offered, now I recollect, to make Tarring 300*l.* per annum. Unwonted act of generosity! Magnificent appropriation of the Church's patrimony! But tell me, Eubulus, what was their next intention?

EUBULUS.

It was easiest to read the "Extract from the Minutes of a General Meeting, held 22nd July, 1845:"

"*Resolved.* That the resolution of the 8th of April last, respecting West Tarring vicarage augmentation and parsonage-

³ Ut *suprà*, p. 54.

⁴ Merchant of Venice, Act i. Sc. i.

house, and the separation of Patching rectory therefrom, be varied so as to stand as follows :

“That the income of the vicarage of West Tarring be immediately augmented to 300*l.* per annum; that the old rectory-house, with about two acres of land adjoining the same, be annexed to the vicarage; and that the small piece of ground, which on account of its immediate contiguity to the vicarage-house has been purchased by many successive vicars from the representatives of the preceding vicar, at the price of 105*l.*, be immediately purchased by the Commissioners from the present vicar, at that price, and be annexed to the living.”

ALETHES.

Sad, very sad ! I recollect how Clarendon says somewhere or other : “ Amongst the Jesuits they have a rule that they who are unapt for greater studies shall study cases of conscience⁵.” Methinks it was a fitting employment for certain of this unmatched consistory.

EUBULUS.

I will say, Alethes, as Hooker has said with reference to a different point : “ For mine own part, I dare not so lightly esteem of the Church, and of the principal pillars therein⁶.”

ALETHES.

I am sure you would not wish to be literally understood, for to call the Ecclesiastical Commission for England the Church would be a most egregious misnomer, and I cannot but lament that the principal pillars “ that constitute the Board or Body ” should have so little regard for what you and I may call with truth *the working clergy*. The truth is, as I said before, they would work the willing horse to death ; and, as they have no conscience, the study of cases of conscience might awaken them to the fact, that others have what they have not. That remark of your favourite Hooker’s which declares, “ The sentences of wise and expert men were never but highly esteemed,” is true as the truest ; but I must decline thinking the Ecclesiastical Com-

⁵ Hist. of the Reb., vol. i. p. 343.

⁶ Eccles. Pol., Book ii. vii. § 4.

mission for England, as at present constituted, either wise or prudent.

EUBULUS.

Nay, Alethes, we may change the subject, lest reason seem invective. I cannot think well of them ; but I would not wish to think harshly.

ALETHES.

“ Well ! ” as said Rosalind, “ time is the old justice that examines all such offenders, and let time try ! ” I would ask but one question more on this head, and it is the following : Have they continued the sinecure rector’s charities ? The late rector was known to be a charitable man, and alive to the responsibilities of property, specially of ecclesiastical property ; and the last act of his life, I have heard you say, was one which redounded altogether to his credit,—an increased salary for the national school, I think. This, I suppose, and the old doles for St. Thomas’s Day⁸ and Christmas, are, of course, not only continued but increased.

EUBULUS.

Not only are they not increased, but they are discontinued altogether. It is a question I could have wished you not to have asked ; but having asked it, the answer, however painful, must be according to truth.

ALETHES.

Did I not receive the information from a source not to be doubted, I never could have believed this. They have acted worse towards these poor parishes, than did those church-spoilers at the dissolution of the monasteries. Who would have believed that your Church reformers should have been the first to deny a trust—to be guilty of a breach of faith,—

“ And right and wrong most cruelly confound⁹ ! ”

⁷ As You Like It, Act iv. Sc. i.

⁸ The custom of “ *going a gooding* ” and “ *going a corning*, ” ou St. Thomas’s Day, is one of very great antiquity, and the origin of it is not known. Twenty years ago it was common enough in Shropshire and Warwickshire. Of late years the doles given on St. Thomas’s Day have been confounded with the equally, if not more, ancient Christmas-box. The sinecure rector at Tarring always gave his doles. *Mumping Day* was the old name for St. Thomas’s Day.

⁹ Spenser, F. Q. v. xi. xvii.

EUBULUS.

It grieved me to the heart, Alethes, for the poor's sake, for the parish's sake, and for the Church's sake! It is a blot not to be wiped out, "a spot,—a damned spot," which should not have attached to such hands! But that woe is past, and there is wisdom in the words,—*Dedoluisse semel satis est*. Let me calm you with some lines, long known to me, and now published to the world. They are from the posthumous poem of the lamented Southey, passages of which you have heard him read; Oliver Newman, I mean:—

"The wounded heart is prone to entertain
Presumptuous thoughts and feelings, which arraign
The appointed course of things. But what are we,
Short-sighted creatures of an hour,
That we should judge? In part alone we see
And this but dimly. He, who ordereth all,
Beholdeth all, at once, and to the end:
Upon his wisdom and his power
His mercy and his boundless love we rest;
And resting thus in humble faith, we know,
Whether the present be for weal or woe,
For us whatever is must needs be best!"

ALETHES.

Then farewell to the Ecclesiastical Commission for England; an incubus not easily got rid of. Let those with whom they have to deal see that they be not,—as Dromio of Syracuse said was like to have happened to him, "had not his breast been made of faith, and his heart of steel,"—transformed to curtail dogs, and made to turn i'the wheel¹. It was a wise resolution, Eubulus, of Sir William Petre's, who, "before he petitioned Pope Paul IV. for a licence and absolution to purchase the lands of dissolved abbeys, made this solemn declaration, 'That he would resign all rectories or appropriated tithes and glebe to their first spiritual uses, and was ready to make immediate restitution for that purpose.'" You will call to mind the mention of it in White Kennett's "Parochial Antiquities"².

But will the commutation of tithes into a corn-rent tend at all

¹ Comedy of Errors, Act iii. Sc. ii.

² See vol. ii. p. 55.

to lessen the number of pluralities, think you, in course of time? Many people look upon the measure as a panacea.

EUBULUS.

The best answer I can make is in some well-known but truthful lines:—

“To mourn a mischief that is past and gone,
Is the next way to draw new mischief on.
What cannot be preserved when fortune takes,
Patience her injury a mockery makes;
The robbed that smiles, steals something from the thief;
He robs himself, that spends a bootless grief³.”

ALETHES.

Your opinions, I see, remain quite unchanged. You made a like reply when we discussed the subject of tithes; and I agreed with you then as I do now.

EUBULUS.

And what was then but a small cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, and scarcely seen, has now waxed great, and is coming nigher and nigher! You will surmise that I allude to the repeal of the Corn Laws,—necessary or otherwise is not the question. Tend, however, it must, to the diminution of the annual value of livings. Then, again, if the clergy become State pensioners, there is no evil which may not be anticipated. Of all things a settled pension is to be avoided. There is a remarkable passage in Kennett's “Parochial Antiquities,” which, *mutatis mutandis*, will explain *why* I think settled portions of money undesirable. Your allusion to that work recalls it to my mind. Although long, it is much to the purpose:—

“When parish churches were first appropriated to houses of religion, they were supplied by secular priests, who were stipendiary curates, with the salary of five, or at best but ten marks; and when by the ordination of vicarages this stipend was exchanged into a standing portion of tithe, and glebe, and manse, such endowment was generally proportioned to the pecuniary rate of five or ten marks; so as the alteration at that time was no benefit to the priest, only as it bettered his title, and made

³ Othello, Act i. Sc. iii.

him a perpetual vicar, instead of an arbitrary curate. But consider, if the portion of the vicar had been allotted in such a certain sum of money, what mendicants must our country vicars now have been ! whereas the assignation being made in improveable land and tithe, by this means the value of money abating, and the rate of land and commodities advancing, some vicarages, which at the first ordination had no greater endowment than what was equivalent to five marks, do now afford the maintenance of fifty pounds per annum. Hence the memory of Sir Thomas Smith is highly to be honoured for promoting the act in 18 Eliz., whereby it was provided, that a third part of the leases made by colleges, should be reserved in corn, payable either in kind or money, after the rate of the best prices in Oxford or Cambridge markets, on the next market day before Michaelmas and Lady Day. This worthy knight is said to have been engaged in this service by the advice of Mr. Henry Robinson, soon after Provost of Queen's College, Oxon, and from that station advanced to the see of Carlisle. And tradition goes, that this bill passed the Houses, before they were sensible of the good consequences of it. We know in the latter times of our confusion, a project was carried on of destroying the ancient right of tithes, and converting that pious maintenance of the clergy into settled portions of money. How fatal this innovation would in time have proved is ingeniously urged by two reverend and learned writers⁴. We have had some benefices in England altered into such method by decrees of Chancery, with a certain sum of money allotted for a compensation of all tithes : this may seem an ease, and perhaps an advantage upon the first establishment of it ; but unless the incumbent be invested with a power of revocation, and, as the reason alters, can reassume his right of tithing, I am sure, in an age or two, the successors will suffer extremely by such a bargain. For a living now of one hundred pounds per annum, in composition money, will, in a future generation, by this stinted revenue, not exceed another living, that is not at present of half the value in glebe and tithe. And it will then too late appear, that the predecessor who complied with such a change did not consult the interest of the

⁴ Mr. Jer. Stephens's Pref. to Sir Hen. Spelman, of Tithes ; and Dr. Comber's *Histor. Vindicat. of Tithes*, part ii. chap. 10.

Church, and that such a decree did not become a court of equity. It is very obvious to consider, that nothing has been a more unjust diminution of small tithes, than the custom of a rate in money, instead of the titheable thing in kind ; though such a rate, no doubt, when first imposed, was equivalent to the thing commuted for it, when now they bear a small or no proportion. As for instance, in one of the old Saxon laws, confirmed by the Conqueror, it is provided, that if a man have one or two colts, he shall pay for the fall of each one penny, and the like for calves : which was a very just proportion, when the best colt or calf was not valued above ten pence ; but the iniquity is, that this custom does still obtain in many parishes ; and the like minute consideration for wool and lambs, where, for custom sake, the trifle must be taken, without allowance for the much advanced value of them. By which means the *modus decimandi* is a growing injury, and calls for a relief by law, when it shall please the wisdom and the justice of our governors. Those eight men of quality and learning, who were appointed at the beginning of our Reformation to collect such ecclesiastical canons as ought to remain in force, freely declared their judgment, that these customs ought to be abrogated. And the learned Mr. Cowell has professed the same opinion, that it is reasonable to take away all such customs, as do lessen the tenth part due to the Church of God⁵."

ALETHES.

White Kennett was well acquainted with the subjects he wrote on ; and his "Parochial Antiquities attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent parts in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks," is a very valuable book, and the model for all books on the same subject. It is a pity we have not more of them⁶. But then how few are equal to the task ; and

⁵ Vol. ii. pp. 295—297.

⁶ Old Fuller thus commences the History of Waltham Abbey : " Providence, by the hand of my worthy friends, having placed me for the present at Waltham Abbey, I conceive that in our general work of Abbeys, I owe some particular description of that place of my abode ; hoping my endeavours herein may prove exemplary to others (who dwell in the sight of remarkable monasteries) to do the like, and rescue the observables of their habitations from the teeth of time and oblivion." See Church Hist. vol. iii. p. 519. Ed. Clar. The remark is of the widest application.

how much fewer is their number like to be now, that every retreat for the studious antiquarian in theological lore is cut off? The evil will be clearly seen and felt within the next half century. The projectors of more recent spoliation schemes already see what sort of fruit the tree is bearing! Alas! for idle reformation!—

“ The best excuse

That such men can to hide their folly use,
When all their idle projects come to nought,
Are the words of the fool, *I had not thought*’.”

As respects the point you more particularly allude to—the different value, that is, of money—it is only necessary to turn to any collection of ancient documents—such as are Peck’s *Desiderata Curiosa*, or Gutch’s *Collectanea Curiosa*—and the fact would strike even the least observant of his kind.

EUBULUS.

There lies on the table before you Owen and Blakeway’s “ History of Shrewsbury,” into which I have just been looking,—one of the best works of its kind, full of antiquarian lore, of the best feeling, and of honesty unimpeachable. A passage on which I lighted by mere accident will illustrate what you remark as to prices, and the value of money in the time of Henry VIII. It appears that the latter end of 1535 was distinguished by an extraordinary concourse of nobility in the town: “ Three dukes,” says our MS. chronicle, “ cam throughe Shrewsbury: to say, the Duke of Rychemoonde, the Duke of Northefolke, and the Duke of Suffolke, with a great retynewe.” Amongst other expenses incurred is the item following, translated by the authors: “ Paid for presents given to the said dukes, as a hogshead of wine, swans, capons, oxen, calves, conies, dainties, wafers, hipocras⁸, per . . . spices, comfits, and divers other things, for the honour of the

⁷ Wither’s Motto, vol. ii. p. 223.

⁸ Blount in his *Glossographia* describes it as “ a compound wine mixed with several kinds of spices,” but this does not illustrate the name. He should have added “ strained through a woollen bag.” That bag is still called *Hippocrates’ sleeve*, and the readers of Chaucer and Skelton will recollect that *Hippocras*, or *Ipocras*, is the earlier name for this ancient leech. A receipt for making it is given by Nares in his Glossary from the *Haven of Health*. Middleton implies that, like Scotch Whiskey, it was the best drink “ a mornings.”

town of Salop, put together in one gross sum, on account of the shortness of the time, 5*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*” What would all this have come to now?

There is another item I may read to you for the fun of it, and for the honour of the barber’s shop, noted from Thucydides’⁹ time downward till the present, as the mart of news: “Reward given to Richard Clarke, barber, riding to know perfectly of the coming of the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Norfolk into the county of Salop, 2*s.* 4*d.*” Owen and Blakeway were two men in whom were combined the

“Virtus Scipiadæ, et mitis sapientia Læli.”

One I knew, the other I knew well, and I can fancy the happy smile that lighted up the face of the one or the other, as either wrote the annexed comment: “The bailiffs were probably guided in their choice of Mr. Clarke for this purpose, by a consideration of his occupation, which has always been deemed favourable for the collection and circulation of intelligence¹.”

ALETHES.

Such references refresh one, and accidental illustrations are often worth a cart-load of cut and dried materials. With the names of those good men departed, I, too, am familiar, and there is a third whose name should not, and will not be separated from theirs by his grateful townsmen,—I mean the pious and munificent W. G. Rowland, “Ordinary and Official, Principal of the Peculiar and Exempt Jurisdiction of the Free Royal Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary.” Antiquated himself, and a thorough antiquarian, he will be remembered long, when gathered to his rest, for simplicity of mind and manners, honesty of purpose, unostentatious but unbounded charity, meekness of wisdom, and love towards God and man. It delights me to have this chance opportunity of mentioning his name.

“Such a man

Might be a copy to these younger times,

Which, followed well, would demonstrate them now

But goes backward².”

⁹ It should be Plutarch. It is he, and not Thucydides, who mentions this fact. *Ξένος γάρ τις, (ὡς ἔοικεν,) ἀποβάς εἰς Πειραιᾶ, καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ κουρείον κ.τ.λ.* —in *Nicia*.

¹ Vol. i p. 317.

² All’s Well that End’s Well, Act i. Sc. ii.

As I think, you well know, his income for many years was very moderate, and yet he contrived to do more towards restoring the churches of the "town within the wombe of Scaverne," than had been done for centuries before. Barrow was alive to the responsibilities of our gentry, when he made the following remarks on that passable notion and definition, *What is a gentleman but his pleasure?*

"If this be true, if a gentleman be nothing else but this, then truly he is a sad piece, the most inconsiderable, the most despicable, the most pitiful and wretched creature in the world: if it is his privilege to do nothing, it is his privilege to be most unhappy; and to be so will be his fate, if he live according to it; for he that is of no worth or use, who produceth no beneficial fruit, who performeth no service to God or to the world, what title can he have to happiness? what capacity thereof? what reward can he claim? what comfort can he feel? to what temptations is he exposed? what guilt will he incur³?"

EUBULUS.

I would not interrupt you, and indeed you know how I love that dear old town, the veriest cranny of which was known to my boyhood's foot! He of whom you speak was as well known to me also as the sound of St. Mary's or St. Chad's bells—of softer tone, by reason of the Severn's flowing by. Bishop Corbet belonged to the family at Sundorne. Had that good man lived in his days, he had never asked questions like these about him:—

"Did he attend the court for no man's fall?
Were he the ruin of no hospital?
And when he did his rich apparel don,
Put he no widow, nor an orphan on⁴?"

ALETHES.

No! His manner of life had been so altogether contrary to the rapacity of those days, that ten to one but some member of his family had begged him for a fool.

³ Sermon "Of Industry in our Particular Calling as Gentlemen." Theol. Works, vol. iii. p. 215. It is a pithy sentence that in a subsequent page, "Being a gentleman doth not exempt him from being a Christian."

⁴ Bp. Corbet's Poems, ut suprà, p. 63.

EUBULUS.

The old town, much as others, felt the griping hand of avaricious reform, and when the dissolution came of all "monasteries, abbathies, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, and houses of friars," Shrewsbury was plundered. Once there was a Bishop of Shrewsbury, and but one is mentioned. His name was "Lewis Thomas, late abbot of Kynmer (*i. e.* Cwmhir), consecrated suffragan Bishop of the See of Salop by Archbishop Cranmer, June 24, 1537⁵." This was prior to the intention expressed by Henry VIII., of erecting thirteen new bishoprics out of certain of the revenues of the dissolved abbeys. "Burnet had seen a list in the king's own hand of the sees he intended to found. The alterations which it would have introduced into the ecclesiastical division of the kingdom are judicious, and evince a considerable knowledge of the internal state of his dominions. Shrewsbury was to have become the seat of a bishop, who was to have been endowed with the revenues of the abbey, and to have comprised in his diocese the counties of Salop and Stafford. We are assured that John Boucher, abbot of Leicester, was actually nominated Bishop of Shrewsbury; and hence, no doubt, the tradition so gratifying to the pride of every true Salopian, that their forefathers had the offer of having their borough converted into a city, but that they preferred continuing to inhabit "the First of Towns"⁶."

ALETHES.

It is unfortunate that more bishoprics were not founded, as by this time the real advantage resulting from such an act had been visible to all. Their righteous supervision, (if righteous, as it ought to be,) would have tended more to do down with pluralities than any thing else that could have been devised, restoration only excepted. But Gauden's words were never more painfully true than as applied to Henry VIII.: "Many reformers are but kites; though they soar high, yet they have an eye to their prey beneath⁷." It appears to me, Eubulus, that the establishment of new sees at that time would have effected what was one of the intentions of the present Ecclesiastical Commission for England,

⁵ Hist. of Shrewsbury, vol. i. p. 316.

⁶ Ibid. p. 323.

⁷ Hieraspistes, p. 484. Ed. 1653, 4to.

I mean the equalization of dioceses, as far as was practicable and might be reasonably done. This, perhaps, is the only good project they have in hand.

EUBULUS.

It is at least a good project; and it would be excellently carried out, were such dioceses as Chester, for example, better divided, and had York its suffragan. As respects "restoration," there is a remarkable passage in the work we have just referred to. It relates to the incumbents of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, and is worth reading, not only for the fact, but for the matter likewise contained in it, by the by.

ALETHES.

Read on,—*arrectis auribus adsto.*

EUBULUS.

"The title of the parochial minister of St. Chad's has varied at different periods. In the earliest of the episcopal registers they are termed *vicars*; understanding that word, however, not in the modern *English*^s acceptation, as denoting the actual incumbent of a church entitled to certain portions of the tithes, but in the more ancient and proper sense, of one who officiates *in the room of another*. For these early vicars performed the parochial offices, to which the canons were originally bound. After the Reformation, the incumbent here was usually called the *curate*; understanding again *that* term, not in the modern sense, peculiar to this country, of a *substitute*; but in the ancient and proper one, recognized originally in our Liturgy, of him who hath the *cure* of the souls of a parish. Mr. Price, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, states himself to be *neither parson, vicar, farmer, nor proprietary, but only curate*: and in 1674, when, on the 18th December, Nathanael Tench, Esq., of London, the great benefactor to this living, granted to it the tithes of corn and hay of the grange of Crow Mele, he settles them upon *the minister of the*

^s "In France the two terms *vicar* and *curate* are employed with much greater propriety, in senses exactly opposite to those in which they are used with us; the *curé* being the actual incumbent, the *vicaire* what we call the curate." This is very true, but looking to the original of vicarages in England the term is altogether appropriate. Horace uses the word in its original sense, when he says of the roving Nomades, *Equati recreant sorte VICARIUS*.

parish of St. Chad for the time being that is, or shall be appointed to read Divine Service, preach, and administer the sacraments according to the order of the Church of England, in the said parish church: and in a letter to his feoffees after informing them that his purpose in thus settling the tithes was, 'to return them again to that very church to which they did formerly belong,' he adds, 'when I came to make the settlement, I did, upon inquiry, find, that your incumbent was neither rector, vicar, nor curate, if the word *curate* be taken after the common acceptation as being servant to another minister: which put me to some trouble how to settle it⁹.'

ALETHES.

It is a memorable instance, indeed, Eubulus! After all, restitution is a virtue more talked of than acted upon. In the old "*Pharmacopœia*," an emetic was usually recommended at the access of any severe attack; and the remedy is a safe one still. What a relief to the body politic would it be, if it was relieved of the patrimony of the Church, which has been swallowed down for ages! Staveley says, in his odd entitled book, "*The Romish Horse-leach*," that "*The court of Rome did inculcate, and would have the world believe, that being a mother, she ought to be relieved by her children¹;*" and so she demanded and received her Peter-pence throughout the land,—save and except from St. Alban's². What pity it is that Defenders of the Faith,—that nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the Church,—have rather, like Saturn, eaten up their own children, or if not so, have connived at the *bulimia* of wicked satellites, and voracious courtiers! *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* Hence the evil of pluralities, the poverty of our benefices, and to say a hard truth, the robbery of the poor. I am sick of all commissions and reformatations,—mere stalking-horses to plunder. As Wither versifies the old proverb,

"The burned child the fire much dreadeth still³!"

⁹ Ut *suprà*, vol. ii. p. 210.

¹ See p. 25. Ed. 1674.

² "Only I find that the monastery of St. Alban's, in honour of that Proto-Martyr, to whose memory it was founded, was alone quiet as to that charge; and that by the indulgence of King Offa, as Matt. Westminster relates."—*Ibid.* p. 4. See Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i. 337. Hertfordshire. Fuller, *Church Hist.* vol. i. p. 276. Ed. Clar.

³ Prince Henry's *Obsequies*, vol. ii. p. 11.

EUBULUS.

You may rest assured you are not singular. Those, too, who are component parts of such bodies are aware of their work. The clank of the chain is not pleasant, and they cannot but feel that their hands are tied! Then for that Saturn-like and voracious propensity you allude to, never was truer word than that spoken by Fuller: "The Pope being now dead in England, the king was found heir at common law as to most of the power and the profit the other had usurped⁴." Henry VIII. was an eminent instance, as he elsewhere remarks, "to verify the observation, *omnis prodigus est avarus*."

ALETHES.

There was another cause, I think, for the diminished value of vicarages, and thus necessarily for the increase of pluralities, was there not?

EUBULUS.

You are alluding, I suppose, to the way in which what are called the King's Books were drawn up?

ALETHES.

Just so.

EUBULUS.

Fuller has mentioned it, and has correctly stated the fact that when the clergy changed their landlords, their rents were new rated, and somewhat raised, and "vicarages were valued very high according to their present revenue by personal perquisites. In that age he generally was the richest shepherd who had the greatest flock, where oblations from the living and obits for the dead (as certainly paid as predial tithes) much advance their income. In consideration whereof, vicarages (mostly lying in market towns and populous parishes) were set very high, though soon after those obventions sunk with superstition: and the vicar in vain desired a proportionable abatement in the king's books; which once drawn up were no more to be altered⁵."

⁴ Church History, vol. iii. pp. 167. 235.

⁵ Ibid. p. 170.

ALETHES.

When a downward course has once begun, there is no saying, Thus far shalt thou go, and no further. There were signs, however, of the coming storm, and they were heard,—to use the words of Pope, in the “Temple of Fame,”—

“Like broken thunders that at distance roar
Or billows murmuring on the hollow shore.”

EUBULUS.

Had Pope heard the rake of the sea on this shore, he had scarcely used the word murmuring as predicative of the storm. But I interrupted you, as you were about to illustrate your words.

ALETHES.

I had Dean Colet in my thoughts, the favourer of learned men and learning, and the friend of Erasmus. When he founded St. Paul's School, do you recollect what he did?

EUBULUS.

My mention of Fuller has recalled the fact to your mind. Fuller, however, thought differently on this head from Erasmus, and I see you are of his opinion yourself.

ALETHES.

I am. But as the book is in your hand, I will trouble you to read the passage I refer to at length.

EUBULUS.

I always read Fuller with delight. His quaintness amuses me, and the value of his Church History, in particular, has gone on increasing continually. He seems always to have written under the influence of his own words in another treatise: “The good man carrieth a court of chancery in his own bosom, to mitigate the rigour of common reports with equal and favourable interpretations⁶.” But for the passage you wish,—and, sure enough, it is sufficiently quaint.

“It may seem false Latin, that this Colet, being dean of St. Paul's, the school dedicated to St. Paul, and distanced but

⁶ See Fuller's Sermons on 1 Cor. xi. Ed. 1640, 4to. p. 8. The other passage is from his Church Hist. vol. iii. p. 18.

the breadth of the street from St. Paul's church, should not be entrusted to the inspection of his successors, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, but committed to the care of the company of the Mercers for the managing thereof. But Erasmus rendereth a good reason, from the mouth and mind of Colet himself, who had found by experience many laymen as conscientious as clergymen in discharging this trust in this kind, conceiving also that the whole *company* was not so easy to be bowed to corruption as any single person, how eminent and public soever.

"For my own part, I behold Colet's act herein, not only prudential, but something prophetic, as foreseeing the ruin of the Church lands, and fearing that this his school, if made an ecclesiastical appendant, might, in the fall of Church lands, get a bruise, if not lose a limb thereby."

ALETHES.

Any how, it was a wise prudence that guided him, and happy is it that the foundation was not altered. It was the first Protestant school before the Reformation, as was aptly said by Knight, in his "Life of Colet," "and its scholars still praise him in the gate." Speaking of the youthful school, it was Erasmus who said: *Neque enim illa ætas ad discendam pietatem immatura est, imo non est alia magis tempestiva ad discendum Christum, quam ea quæ mundum adhuc nescit.*

EUBULUS.

A saying that in which we may all coincide, however much we may agree to differ as to the mode and manner. Systems will rise and fall, and the fashion of the world, in this sense, will pass away; but the child that is trained up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," is happy at least in this, that the dew of God's blessing has watered his tender years!

ALETHES.

The lines of Hawes in the "Pastime of Pleasure" cannot be better applied than to religious education:—

"Whoso in youthe lyst nothing to learne,
He wyll repent him often in his age,
That he thro' cunnyng nothing can discerne.

Therefore, nowe youthe with lysty corage
Rule thy fleshe, and thy sloathe assuage;
And in thy youthe the scyence engender,
That in thine age it may the worship render."

But we have turned aside from our subject. You seem, Eubulus, to entertain no very good hopes as to the bettering of our small livings, and the doing away with pluralities.

EUBULUS.

I confess I do not, and we must be content to bear the evil as best we may. The present state of our benefices is the natural result of covetousness and rapacity on the one side, and not altogether free from a negligent indifference on the other. We have not, be assured, been carried beyond Babylon for nothing. It is a warning to us. Lord Brooke's are wise words:—

"Never did any public misery
Rise of itself: God's plagues still grounded are
On common stains of our humanity:
And to the flame which ruineth mankind
Man gives the matter, or at least gives wind^s."

ALETHES.

None more readily than myself would assent to this. And after all it entails the fault both of governments and individuals. No wise government will allow its clergy to be underpaid, and individuals into whose hands the patrimony of the Church may have fallen can never be justified in allowing their people to be destroyed for lack of knowledge. At the same time, Eubulus, I think we have been bowing the knee unnecessarily to certain powers of which the Gentiles made goddesses.

EUBULUS.

Davus sum, non Œdipus. You speak in riddles.

ALETHES.

There is a passage in Archbishop Sancroft's "Modern Policies" (a striking work!) which says exactly what I mean: "Pausanias," says he, "tells of a chapel in Acrocorinth dedicated to Necessity and Violence. Those twin goddesses may be fit objects for the

^s Inquisition upon Fame and Honour.

worship of heathens ; but it is a pity they should be so much adored by Christians⁹." But, as he elsewhere says, half joke, half earnest : " It is manifest that we are fallen into the dregs of time ; we live in the rust of the iron age, and must accordingly expect to feel the dotages of a decrepit world !"

EUBULUS.

We are not yet too far in our dotage not to know our duties. The evil is that we are not on the alert, and scarcely indeed alive to our necessities. But after all, though I am not hopeful as to the curtailing of pluralities, and though I think little of the Ecclesiastical Commission as a body ; yet I am hopeful as to the efficiency of the Church and Church principles. Somehow or other, Alethes, we had got over-much entangled in secularities—the world smiled on us too much, and we joined hands with the world, which it was not ours to do.

ALETHES.

You recall to my mind those lines of Pope in the poem I but awhile referred to :—

" Nor was the work impaired by storms alone,
But felt th' approaches of too warm a sun !"

EUBULUS.

The world will love its own as it ever has done, and those who will be the friends of the world must abide the consequences. In these kingdoms, and more or less throughout the northern countries of Europe, the patrimony of the Church has suffered by unholy alliances. She has been wheedled out of temporal possessions. It seemed an unworldly act rather to give up than to contend ; and as Henry Smith says, " No man is so humble, but that he leans to fame ; and a good report doth tickle and please him which deserves it, and him which deserves it not²."

ALETHES.

By which you would imply that the clergy have yielded too much, and that if they had not been so pliant the people's instruction had been better provided for and attended to.

⁹ See D'Oyley's *Life of Abp. Saneroft*, 2nd Edit. p. 457. This Treatise is appended to the *Life*, and is evidently his work.

¹ *Infrà*, p. 463.

² *Sermons*, p. 352.

EUBULUS.

I am unwillingly obliged to confess it when I observe the present course of things, and when I look to the past.

ALETHES.

As I said, we have been worshipping Necessity and Violence, and have been softly exsufflating our "*Præfscine's*," and the result is what we see. He who would profit by the past must take heed

"That he walk not, by long continuance,
The perambulat way³."

What Horace slyly says of the Roman people, the Church might apply as regards most of the reforms which the State has brought forward for her good :—

"Quod si me populus Romanus forte roget, cur
Non, ut porticibus, sic judiciis fruar iisdem,
Nec sequar, aut fugiam, quæ diligit ipse, vel odit :
Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
Respondit, referam : *Quia me vestigia terrent*
*Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum*⁴."

EUBULUS.

Most beneficial reforms in the Church have commenced with her own body, and have been carried out by the self-denial of her ministry. And although "even the best of men might have been much better than they are, had they always kept pace with their possibilities, and applied themselves with their utmost skill and diligence to the methods and ministries of improvement⁵," yet this will ever teem to her praise, that as a body she has ever desired to serve God with reverence and holy fear, and to better the lot of suffering humanity.

ALETHES.

But the other day I saw a proposal, signed "*Parochus*," for a *bonâ fide* revaluation of all benefices, instead of the present payments of first-fruits and tenths to Queen Anne's Bounty, from the old valuation in the king's books. It was in a letter addressed

³ Hawes, ut suprà.

⁴ 1 Epist. i. 70.

⁵ Scott's Christian Life, part ii. c. vii. vol. iii. p. 136.

to the Editor of the "Times" newspaper. Had it been written more temperately it might have attracted notice; but where there is querulousness the world usually suspects self-interest at the bottom. It appeared to me much upon the same principle as the plan which was advocated by Lord Bacon, and by the lamented Dr. Edward Burton, to which I referred before.

EUBULUS.

The letter attracted my attention, and I cut it out of the paper for reperusal. It is amongst these loose papers, and I shall readily find it. I have it; but I see that all which really appertains to the subject is comprehended under the second head; and it is merely a sort of graduated scale.

ALETHES.

I should like to see it, or read it, Eubulus.

EUBULUS.

What is recommended is, "To adopt, in lieu of the present 'Queen's Anne's Bounty' system, a graduated scale of payment (abolishing 'first-fruits'), and to make the yearly 'fixed duty' to rise with the value of the living. Thus, if livings above 300*l.*, and under 500*l.*, of which there are 2047, were deemed to pay yearly three per cent.; those above 500*l.*, and under 700*l.*, five per cent., of which class there are 841; those above 700*l.*, and under 1000*l.*, seven-and-a-half per cent., of which there are 437; and those above 1000*l.* in similar proportion, of which there are 186; and if collegiate and cathedral incomes, and episcopal revenues, were laid under a similar contribution, a fund of 150,000*l.* yearly, clear of expenses, would be readily raised; and the apostolic principle of 'he that had much had nothing over, and he that had little had no lack,' would be practically and in sufficient measure carried out, without injuring any one, and to the benefit of all. I plead for no positive 'equality,' but for a check upon accumulation; and I plead for it as a matter of justice and not of mere benevolence."

ALETHES.

I do not mean to say that some plan might not be hit upon which would improve the existing one; but I cannot see that it would be a *matter of justice*. Were our benefices to meet with

justice, and were there a return made of what has been taken from them, "clancular sermocinators," as one calls them, would be astonished.

EUBULUS.

Every one has got some plan or other, and each believes his own to be the best :—

"'Tis with our judgments, as with our watches ; none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own⁶."

My own opinion is that the existing arrangements in parishes are best, and that it would be by no means advisable to tax livings more heavily than they are taxed at present. By so doing we should at once paralyse the working of our great societies, and disgust very many whose constant occupation is doing good. It is a dangerous thing to intermeddle ; and when we witness a daily and constant desire on the part of the clergy, the laity, and ecclesiastical patrons in general, to put down abuses, and to do away with pluralities, which certainly are an abuse, the wise will stay their hands, and take for their motto, *Festina lente!* Perhaps we may observe of many very excellent but somewhat hasty reformers of Church grievances, what Hooker did relative to that soldier who needlessly refused to wear the garland when he was to receive the emperor's donative :—"Many of them which were very sound in Christian belief did rather commend the zeal of this man, than approve his action⁷."

ALETHES.

There is sound wisdom in what you say, and prudence likewise ; and, opposed as you are to the dull every-day *far niente* system of the Dullman and Do-Nothing family, I know well that you have weighed the matter thoroughly. Still I hope we may both live to see material improvements. It is impossible to stand still ; and the enormous increase of our population requires almost superhuman exertions. Let us not forget what Herrick says :—

"If little labour, little are our gains :
Man's fortunes are according to his pains."

⁶ Pope's Essay on Criticism.

⁷ See Eccles. Pol. ii. c. v. § 7.

EUBULUS.

A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven⁸; but if nations and individuals shall exert themselves after a righteous sort, they may lift up their heads with joy, even in the midst of sore tribulation and distress,—the fleece, so to say, shall be wet with the dew of God's blessings, when the ground on which it lies shall be dry. There is great comfort in these prophetic verses, Alethes, when soberly applied, and apart from presumption: When thus it shall be in the midst of the land amongst the people, there shall be as the shaking of an olive-tree, and as the gleaning grapes when the vintage is done. Then shall they lift up their voice, they shall sing for the majesty of the Lord, they shall cry aloud from the sea. Wherefore glorify ye the Lord in the fires, even the name of the Lord God of Israel in the isles of the sea. From the uttermost part of the earth have we heard songs, even glory to the righteous⁹."

ALETHES.

Happy the people who shall be enabled to apply unto themselves the glorious and comforting visions of the evangelical prophet! But we, methinks, Eubulus, have to mourn over opportunities lost, and are unworthy to open that book!

EUBULUS.

But there is balm in Gilead, and hope still for the unworthy like ourselves. Hear what St. John saith in that book, which the wise will look to rather for Christian consolation, than with the vain hope of unravelling what is mysteriously, and perhaps purposely, profound: "And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals. And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no man in heaven, nor on earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon. And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root

⁸ John iii. 27.⁹ Isa. xxiv. 13—16.

of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof¹."

ALETHES.

Comfortable is it, indeed, to be enabled to apply such Scriptures, and to turn to them in hope! Milton's lines are often in my thoughts:—

"Such delight hath God in men,
Obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes
Among them to set up his tabernacle,
The Holy One with mortal men to dwell²!"

For such we must pray continually; and specially for a due supply of persons qualified to serve God in Church and State! They were never more wanted; and such as shall desire to escape severer judgments must humble themselves, and entreat the Lord to go before them, and to be their rereward!

EUBULUS.

Of such men we hope our land is not destitute—though it be not an every-day matter to point out the man to whom one might apply such words as these—you will recollect them to be Wither's:—

"His knowledge and his honest policy,
His courage much admired, his very name,
His public love and private courtesy,
Joined with religious firmness, might have mov'd
Pale envy to have praised him³!"

But I believe, Alethes, that such men are, and that their whole time and thought is given up to the serving of God acceptably, and the benefiting their fellow-creatures. May He increase their number a thousand-fold, whose is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever!

ALETHES.

AMEN! And now read to me that sweet little poem Mrs. Southey wrote for you. It is a Roman Catholic legend, but of the prettiest.

¹ Rev. v. 1—5.

² Par. Lost, b. xii. 245.

³ Prince Henry's Obsequies, vol. ii. p. 21.

EUBULUS.

Your love for children deserves it. But I will introduce it by an extract from old Fuller's "Meditations on the Times." It was that meditation that led me to ask Mrs. Southey to write the little Poem.

"JOHN GERSON, the pious and learned Chancellor of Paris, beholding and bemoaning the general corruption of his age, in doctrine and manners, was wont to get a choir of little children about him, and to entreat them to pray to God in his behalf, supposing their prayers least defiled with sin, and most acceptable to heaven.

"Men now-a-days are so infected with malice, that little children are the best chaplains to pray for their parents. But O, where shall such be found, not resenting of the faults and factions of their fathers? Gerson's plot will not take effect. I will try another way.

"I will make my address to the holy child Jesus (Acts iv. 27), so is he styled even when glorified in heaven; not because he is still under age (like popish pictures, placing him in his mother's arms, and keeping him in his constant infancy), but because with the strength and perfection of a man, he hath the innocency and humility of a child; him only will I employ to intercede for me."

ALETHES.

Just in old Fuller's vein. But, the Poem, the Poem! for the children will not wait, and we must join the revels.

EUBULUS.

We will call it the "LEGEND OF ARCHBISHOP GERSON," to distinguish it from Fuller's title, which is "THE CHILD MAN."

"ARCHEISHOP GERSON.

"A voice from the sinful city
Goes up to God on high—
'Why tarries the righteous doom,
When the time of o'erflowing is come
Of the cup of iniquity?'

“ And the good Archbishop Gerson,
As he kneels in penance drear,
On the cold hard flags so white,
At the hour of dead midnight,
That accusing voice doth hear.

“ And groaning, he lifteth up
His eyes to the Holy Rood ;
When lo ! from the pierced side,
And the gaping nail-prints wide,
Wells out, as 'twere, fresh-drawn blood.

“ The old man beats his breast
At that awful sight full sore ;
And he bends down his wrinkled brow,
All beaded with sweat-drops now,
Till it toucheth the marble floor.

“ And he wrestles in earnest prayer—
But th' accusing voice still cries,
' How long, O Lord, how long
Wilt thou bear with *thy* people's wrong,
With *this* people's iniquities ?'

“ ‘ Haste hither, my brethren dear !
And humble yourselves with me,
My holy brethren all !'
Is the Archbishop's piercing call,
In the strength of his agony.

“ They come at the call with speed—
They kneel, and weep, and pray.
But the voice of prayer is drowned,
In that dread accusing sound—
' O Lord ! make no delay.'

“ ‘ We are grievous offenders all—
All leprous and defiled—
What lips may be found this day,
With prevailing prayer to pray,
Save the lips of a little child ?'

“ ‘ Of such little ones hither bring,’
Cries aloud the Archbishop then ;
And they gather at his command,
Round the altar a sinless band,
Though the children of sinful men.

“ The pure young voices rise,
On the incense of taintless breath ;
And there reigneth o’er all the while,
Throughout that majestic pile,
A stillness as deep as death.

“ For crozier and cowl alike
In the dust lie prostrate there :
Of those living men laid low,
In the depth of abasement now,
Stirreth not hand or hair.

“ But the pleading voice goes up
From that infant choir the while ;
And, behold ! o’er the face divine,
Appareth like lightning-shine,
The gleam of a gracious smile.

“ Then upriseth, as one entranced,
The Archbishop on his feet,—
‘ Give thanks for a day of grace !’
He crieth, with radiant face,—
‘ Give thanks as is most meet !

“ ‘ The innocents’ prayer ascendeth
Above th’ accuser’s cry—
Their angels are heard in heaven,—
And a day of grace is given—
Glory to God most high !’ ”

C. SOUTHEY.

No. VI.

Parochial Fragments, &c.

“ Man is no star ; but a quick coal
Of mortal fire ;
Who blows it not, nor doth control
A burut desire,
Lets his own ashes choke his soul.”

GEORGE HERBERT.

“ For us the winds do blow,
The earth doth rest, heaven move, and fountains flow ;
Nothing we see but means our good :
As our delight, or as our treasure.
The whole is either our cupboard of good
Or cabinet of pleasure.”

GEORGE HERBERT.

“ Where there is a conscience void of offence, there is the sanctifying Spirit of the Lord.”

HORSLEY'S *T. W.*, ii. 431.

“ God fails not to sow blessings on the long furrows which the ploughers plough on the back of the Church.”

JEREMY TAYLOR, *Holy Living*, iv. 125.

“ Sire !”—they are Beza's words to the king of Navarre,—“ he concluded, in memorable words, It belongs in truth to the Church of God, in the name of which I address you, to *suffer* blows, not to *strike* them. But at the same time, let it be your pleasure to remember that the Church is an anvil which hath worn out many a hammer !”

“ Plus à me frapper on s'amuse
Tant plus de marteaux on y use.”

SMEDLEY, *Reformed Religion in France*, i. 226.

“ He that least
Regards this restless world, shall in this world find rest.”

QUARLES' *Emblems*.

“ Pain in the steps of pleasure treads ever here below !”

DAS NEBELUNGEN LIED. St. 2458.

Broadwater, Offington, Cissbury, Chankbury, Findon.

IN walking across the fields, from Tarring to Broadwater, the attention is presently called to the change of ground. Tarring itself is a rich deep loam. Broadwater, on the other hand, is overspread with what one might call a waste of flints. So thick are they on the surface, that a stranger would suppose the ground unproductive. This, however, is not the case. The crops are good, especially the wheat crops, and they very rarely fail. It is far from being what Persius calls "*Exossatus ager*¹," either without the bones of mother earth, or worn out by over cropping.

The distance from Tarring to Broadwater is scarcely more than a long mile; from church to church it may be a little more. The proximity of the churches one to another in this part of the county of Sussex speaks well for those gone before, whether Saxons or Normans. In all probability the latter improved and enlarged such edifices as they found it politic or necessary to leave standing. Certainly it was not here, as in the New Forest; and the invaders rather built up, than pulled down, on what Drayton calls,—

"These sea bordering shores of ours, that point at France²."

It is in his "Second Song" that this remarkable chorographical or geographical poet speaks of the sacrilegious destruction of churches in the New Forest; and the passage is

¹ Sat. vi. 50.

² Poly-Olbion. The Seventeenth Song.

worth transcribing. Few are aware how much curious information is contained in the "Poly-Olbion :"—

" Down from Sarum plains

Clear Avon coming in, her sister Stour doth call,
And at New Forest's foot into the sea doth fall,
Which every day bewail that deed so full of dread,
Whereby she (now so proud) became first forested :
She now, who for her site ev'n boundless seem'd to lie,
Her being that received by William's tyranny,
Providing laws to keep those beasts here planted then,
Whose lawless will from hence before had driven men ;
That where the hearth was warm'd with winter's feasting fires,
The melancholy hare is form'd in breaks and briars :
The aged ranpick trunk, where plowmen cast their seed,
And churches overwhelm'd with nettles, fern, and weed,
By conquering William first cut off from every trade,
That here the Norman still might enter to invade ;
That on this vacant place, and unfrequented shore,
New forces still might land, to aid those here before."

We were speaking of Drayton—his "Nymphidia," his "Poly-Olbion," and his fantastic coat of arms, "Pegasus rampant in a shield azure, guttes d'eau from Helicon, with the cap of Mercury for crest, amid sunbeams proper"—when we reached the churchyard of Broadwater, and we could not but remark how thickly the "holy suburbs" were peopled. A walk around it told a melancholy tale. Dust touched dust from counties the most distant ; and many who had been sent to a watering-place for change, and for the benefit of the sea air, had found that there was no abiding, and had undergone that awful change which awaits us all ;—for *The living know that they shall die*³. The thoughtless Polemon who should visit the many watering-places of this land, and the resting-places of the dead there, might return a wiser and a better man ! Happy they who, when they look upon the graves of the children of the people, lay to heart thoughts on death and judgment ! I like that expression of Bishop Hall's : "Those that die in the faith of Christ, though with the mixture of many corruptions in doctrine or practice, God forbid but their

³ Eccles. ix. 5.

bones should rest in peace⁴!" On either side of the entrance-wicket to the churchyard we observed a yew-tree, planted, it would seem, within a year or two. "Whether the planting of yew in churchyards," says Sir Thomas Browne, in his "*Hydriotaphia*," or "*Urn Burial*," "hold not its original from ancient funeral rites, or as an emblem of the resurrection, from its perpetual verdure, may admit conjecture." There were who thought that the yew was planted there, in order that each yeoman might cut his bow wherewith to defend the sepulchres of his fathers, and to hinder the enemy from trampling on sacred dust. Be it as it may, the yew-trees in some of the churchyards are of time-honoured antiquity. The boy and the grey-headed sire scarce see a difference in their age, though haply, in thoughtful mood, they may repeat that ancient stave:—

"Then said the auld man
To the auld tree,
Sair changed is I
Since I first kenn'd thee!"

The church of Broadwater is well worth visiting. It consists of a nave, north and south aisles, central tower, two transepts, and a beautiful chancel. Rickman enumerated it amongst those churches which "have an admixture of decorated portions, with the early English, sometimes merely one or two windows, sometimes with a little perpendicular work." The central tower, the two transepts, and the chancel are early English, of the age, it is said, of John or Henry III. That style, however, prevailed through the next reign of Edward I., as the decorated English did through that of Edward II. and Edward III. The date of the nave and the aisles may belong to the latter period. I am not aware that there is any thing to be found fault with in the following description from Cartwright: "The arch under the tower next the chancel is of the richest style of early Norman, the moulding of which is continued on the fossit under the curve. The capitals of the pillars which support the arch are surmounted with branches of palm, an ornament introduced by the Crusaders,

⁴ See Sermon on Gen. xxiii. 19, 20. Works, vol. iii. p. 103. Ed. folio, 1662. The passage from Sir T. Browne is in c. iv. Works, vol. iii. p. 483.

and peculiarly appropriate to a Christian church. Instead of the stone stalls, frequent on the south side of our chancels, is a stone bench, over which is a Norman arch, a very rare, if not an unique instance. The roof is groined. A chevron moulding goes round the chancel. The original windows, of which there are traces on the outside, were lancet-shaped, but they have been replaced by others of the next period, admitting more light. The chancel is divided from the church by a screen with doors, and contains stalls, as at Tarring, for the priests. The arch under the tower next the nave has been altered to the pointed style, though still retaining its Norman ornaments."

The transepts are at present shut out from the church,—the south one being converted into a vestry-room, the north one into a school, adjoining which, in the recess, is the baptistry, with a very well-proportioned font, said to be one of Archbishop Laud's, but I know not on what authority. Within the nave may yet be traced the supports of the old rood-loft, and a small door is still discernible in the mortar above the reading desk which communicated, probably, with the rood-loft, by means of the circular staircase in the south-west angle of the tower. A very intelligible plate of a rood-loft is given in the "Glossary of Architecture," from the church of Charlton on Otmoor, in Oxfordshire. It shows clearly how it projected within side the nave. In many old churches the oaken screen is a remnant of the rood-loft,—as, for example, at Tarring,—but this was hardly the case at Broadwater, where the tower divides the nave from the chancel. The length of the chancel is remarkable, as was that of the old church at Goring. Within the rails is a piscina in very good preservation. Many of the tiles show that they were once encaustic, but time and men's footsteps have worn off the device. On the north side is an ornamental tomb, or monument, to the memory of Thomas Lord la Warre, who died at Offington in 1526. By his testament he "bequeathed his body to be buried in the tombe of freestone within the chancel of the parish church of Broadwater; appointing that his executors should bury him according to his honour, and give two pence apiece in alms to every poor man or woman who would come and receive it at the same church of Broadwater." Another monument to his son, is at the east end of the south aisle. He likewise died at Offington

in 1554. These, like most other monuments of a like sort, have suffered sadly from iconoclastic reformers. There is a remarkably fine brass, to the memory of John Mapleton, which is figured in Cartwright. He was rector of the parish, and chancellor to Margaret of Anjou. The date of his death is September 8, 1432, —the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, as still observed in the Romish church. The lines are in Old English, and run thus:—

*“Migrat felicis ortu Christi genetricis
Anno milleno & quatuor bis X duodeno.”*

Brasses of this sort date from about the time of Edward II. They became general towards the close of the fourteenth century. Few, comparatively speaking, are now left, for the Puritans tore up what the Reformers passed by.

“O terrible excess
Of headstrong will! Can this be piety?
No—some fierce maniac hath usurped her name;
And scourges England struggling to be free:
Her peace destroyed! her hopes a wilderness!
Her blessings cursed, her glory turned to shame⁵!”

The tower of this fine old church is well proportioned. Formerly it was surmounted with a low shingle spire, not a *broach*⁶, as it was within the parapet. This spire, of later date than the tower, was taken down some years ago, and more recently the little beacon tower mentioned above. As it now stands, the tower is plain Norman. Within the litch-gate porch there seems to be the remnant of an aspersorium, or stoup, from which such as entered were sprinkled with holy water. On the outer walls of the nave, north and south, is a flint cross in the wall, said to be peculiar to the Suffolk churches. Cartwright mentions that

⁵ See Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Sonnets. “Troubles of Charles the First.” Part ii. Sonnet xl.

⁶ See Glossary of Architecture v. “Broach.” It is there, however, called an old English term for “spire;” but it is afterwards correctly added, “In some other parts of the country, as in Leicestershire, it is used to denote a *spire springing from the tower without any intermediate parapet.*” Ray enumerates it amongst north-country words, but derives it from the French. “A spire steeple is called a *broach* steeple, as an obelisk is denominated from *obelós*, a spit:” and so Brocket in his Glossary, who mentions “Chester broach, Darlington broach, the broaches of Durham Cathedral.”

it does not occur in any "other church in Western Sussex," which may be true as respects flint, but four *brick* crosses are discernible on the several sides of the tower at Preston, where, by the way, one may observe that there was a pure *broach*, previous to the hideous brick parapet which was run up some ninety or a hundred years ago. It is very probable that the like was the case at Angmering, where the parapet of brick is equally ugly. As regards the church of Broadwater, no one could visit it without being impressed, like Alethes and myself, with this truth, that it is a specimen of a church kept in the most decent and seemly order. The burial-ground plan, kept in the vestry, is perfect in its kind. The whole was repaired and beautified in 1826.

Broadwater Church would appear to have undergone very slight alteration as regards its size. Indeed, it hardly seems to have had any by-chancel or mortuary chapel, except that of which vestiges are still visible on the east side of the south transept. What this was is not known. Whether or not a circumstance mentioned in the Nona-Return affords any clue, is more than I can affirm. As quoted in Cartwright, it represents the rector, amongst sundry payments, as receiving "*in oblations and other offerings accruing from the altar of St. Symphoriana, 5s.*" Not being able to verify this extract, I do not know whether there is a misprint for *Symphosian*. If so, his memory is retained in the Romish Church on the 22nd of August. He was son of Faustus, and of noble extraction, and suffered martyrdom, as Butler tells us, "at Autun, in Gall, soon after the martyrs of Lyons, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius," about A.D. 178. To which he adds, "his tomb became famous for miracles, and in the middle of the fifth century, Euphronius, a priest, afterward Bishop of Autun, built over it a church in his honour." The connexion of Sussex with the opposite shores, makes it by no means an impossible thing that St. Symphorian may have had an altar at Broadwater⁷.

Broadwater-Manor, or, as more anciently spelt, Bradwatre, was at the Conqueror's survey held by Robert of William de

⁷ See Allen Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, under August 22. The only other similar name is "Saint Symphorosa, and her seven sons, martyrs," under July 18.

Braose, that mighty baron, and the Nimrod of his day, who added house to house, and field to field. A good deal of curious history is connected with it, and not the least curious, as illustrative of the history of the time, is what is recorded of Sir John de Gaddesden (to whom the manor had descended by marriage), three years sheriff in the time of Henry III. Cartwright gives the account from the Assize Roll for the year 1261, which contains the record of a trial, in which Michael de Combe was plaintiff, and John de Gaddesden defendant, from which it appears "that John, having invited Michael to his house at Broadwater, made him very drunk, and then conveyed him home to Applesham, where he was shut up drunk, half dead, and not knowing good from evil. John then took Michael's seal, and affixed it against his will to a deed of feoffment, in which he took possession of Michael's manors and lands, which had come to him by purchase or inheritance. Having thus obtained the deed by fraud, he entered on the lands, and took corn and hay to the amount of twenty marks⁸." Such was England's law, and such was an English sheriff in the time of Henry III.

Another incident is recorded by Camden not less infamously notorious, which tells how John de Camois, son of Lord Ralph de Camois, by an example as new in those times as in the present, "of his own free will gave, and" (to speak in the words of the parliament rolls,) "demised his wife Margaret, daughter and heiress of John de Gaddesden, to Sir William Painell, Knight," with whom she lived in adultery. The remark of Camden on this disgraceful conduct deserves to be transcribed. "I confess myself ashamed to mention this: but I see Pope Gregory was not mistaken, when he wrote to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, that he had heard there were certain persons in Scotland, that not only forsook but sold their wives, whereas in England they gave and granted them away⁹."

A ten minutes' walk across the lovely green of Broadwater, which no enclosure act, it is to be hoped, will ever curtail, brought us to Offington, the seat of J. B. Daubuz, Esq. It is a retired and beautiful spot, and there are no such trees by the sea-side as are to be found in the Grove there, whether oak or elm. For-

⁸ Cartwright, *ut suprà*, p. 22.

⁹ Camden's *Britannia*. Ed. Gough, i. 188. Sussex.

merly there must have been more houses there than the present mansion, or it would hardly have taken precedence of Broadwater, which, in a deed of concord, dated 1282, is designated as *juxta* Offington. The house itself also was larger than it was previous to late improvements, for in the Burrell collections, wherein is an inventory of the chattels of the last Thomas Lord la Warre, mention is made of sixty-five bedrooms and ninety-eight bedsteads. "*Shake-downs*," no doubt, were as common in England then as they are now in Ireland, but the actual mention of bedrooms bespeaks an extended site. The chapel is said to have been on the north side, and there are still marks of foundation, but whether of that or of an enclosed court is not very clear. In a dry season, like the present, there is no mistaking where flint and mortar have been.

Offington, or Offingtons, as it is in Camden, is an ancient domain. Subsequent to the Conquest, it was held of William de Braose by William Fitznorman, and had been held, it is said, by the Earl Godwin,

"That Godwin, sometimes Earl of Kent,
Who with King Harold did conspire to shed
Prince Alfred's blood ¹."

Who held it after Fitznorman is not known ; but there is a deed amongst the Burrell MSS., referred by Cartwright to the time of Henry III., which represents Michael de Combe, whom he supposes to be a descendant of William Fitznorman, as granting, for sixty marks, and the annual rent of 1*l.*, to "Andrew de Lychpole all the lands in Offington, which Stephen, the son of Richard, formerly held of him." From the hands of these Lychpoles, (whose name is still attached to a farm in the parish of

¹ See Mirror for Magistrates, "The treacherous Life and infamous Death of Godwin, Earle of Kent." The following stanza may not be unacceptable to some readers, as the work is not in every one's hands. It is Godwin's own confession :—

"And that on earth my shame might never die,
The sea's proud waves have overrun my lands,
Which did of yore by Sandwich haven lie,
Where now bound up in Neptune's watie bands,
They at this day are called Godwin sands,
And since are made of pasture-springing ground
A dangerous gulfe the seaman to confound."

Vol. ii. Part ii. pp. 622. 638. Ed. Haslewood.

Sompting,) the estate came into the possession of John Pyper and Joan his wife, sister of the deceased Alice, and an heiress in whom the property of the Lychpoles at Offington centered. From their hands again it passed into those of Sir Andrew Peverell. On his death, Feb. 13, 1376, the manor was inherited by his cousin Edmund Fitzherbert, who dying in 1387, without issue, the property descended to his sister Alice, the wife of Sir Thomas West. She survived her husband ten years; and her son, of the same name, married Joan, sister and heir of the Lord la Warre. He had two sons, Thomas and Reginald. The first having died without issue, the younger brother succeeded to the estates and title of his uncle, who died in 1427. The tombs of two of the family are mentioned above, as being in Broadwater Church,—their history, together with the pedigree and descent of the present Earl de la Warre, may be seen in Cartwright.

Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign the property passed out of the hands of the West family into that of the Alford, originally of Holt, in Denbighshire. Their pedigree is also to be seen in Cartwright, and from a fine imposed upon Sir Edward Alford, after the capitulation of Exeter, in which he was included, he has shown that the property at Offington was then valued at 190*l.* per annum. The authority referred to is the State Paper Office. In 1726 it was sold to William Whitbread, of Ashurst, gent. He left it to his nephew, Mr. John Margesson, whose eldest son, William Margesson, Esq., sold it in 1815 to J. Theophilus Daubuz, uncle of the present owner, to whom he bequeathed it.

The family is originally French. In 1598, Henry IV. of France, renounced the reformed religion, and made a solemn and public profession of Popery, but granted liberty of conscience and free toleration to the Huguenots, by the celebrated Edict of Nantes. This was revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685,—“a year,” says Burnet, “which must ever be remembered as the most fatal to the Protestant religion. In February, a king of England declared himself a papist. In June, Charles, the Elector Palatine, dying without issue, the electoral dignity went to the house of Newburgh, a most bigoted popish family. In October, the King of France recalled and vacated the Edict of Nantes. And in December, the Duke of Savoy being brought to it, not only by the persuasions, but even by the threatenings of the court of

France, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the Vaudois. So it must be confessed that this was a very critical year²." Ill was Louis advised when he was persuaded to promulgate that edict, which cost him half a million of his best subjects! France felt the blow from one end to the other, and public loss was only exceeded by private misery. The writer just quoted speaks feelingly of what he saw,—for he was abroad at the time,—both in the History of his Own Times and in his Travels. The latter work is composed of letters which he wrote at the time to the Honourable Robert Boyle, and it is in one of them, when speaking of the persecution consequent on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that he observes, "I do not think that in any age there ever was such a violation of all that is sacred, either with relation to God or man; and what I saw and knew there from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the ideas that I had taken from books, of the cruelty of that religion (Papistry, that is), that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me shall never end but with my life."

At this time, not less than 50,000 Huguenots found refuge on our shores, ever ready to shield the unfortunate! Plain men and simple, wise men and clever, were involved in one ruin. Divine and merchant, journeyman and mechanic must seek a home elsewhere! It is well known that we are indebted to the emigrants for many commercial secrets, especially as relates to silks and satins, dyes and colours, and that the silk-weavers of Spitalfields date from this period.

Amongst others who reached this land amid shoals of emigrants was a sorrow-stricken mother and her children, from the province of Guienne. Their name was *Daubuz*, or *Daubus*³. The father must have been a person of some eminence, as he had a pass from Louis XIV., sealed with his seal, and attested by his own signature, still, I am told, in the possession of the family. "The

² See History of his Own Times. He observes just above, "The King of France had been for many years weakening the whole Protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the Edict of Nantes. And, as far as I could judge, the affairs of England gave the last stroke to that matter."—Book iv. vol. ii. p. 324. See also Bp. Burnet's Travels, p. 246. Ed. 1750; and "Les Plaintes des Protestants cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume de France," by Claude.

³ D'Aubuz.

pass" (I use the words from Nichols' "Literary History") "permitted him to leave France with his wife and four children; but from agitation of spirits and strong feelings, he only reached Calais, where he died at the inn, and was privately buried in the garden, the innkeeper assisting his widow, during the night, to dig his grave. She remained in secret till joined by her husband's brother, who had some preferment in the cathedral church at York. He, personating her husband, (agreeably to the pass,) got them safe into England, and settled them in Yorkshire⁴." Of three of the children little is known, but one was the Rev. Charles Daubuz, well known as the author of one of the best commentaries on the Revelation in our language, which, had it been in print when South wrote, would probably have superseded the necessity of his severely true remark⁵, or the shrewd observation of old Burton's: "every silly fellow can square a circle, make perpetual motions, find the philosopher's stone, *interpret Apocalypsis*." From this excellent man the family is descended, but the author of the "Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation" deserves a word or two more by way of memorial.

He was admitted sizar of Queens' College, Cambridge, January 10, 1689, and after taking his degree, was appointed librarian in 1693, which office he held for the next two years, till August 10th, 1695. Where he passed the next year is not stated, but on the 23rd September, 1696, he was elected master of the Free Grammar School at Sheffield. Here he remained not quite three years, and appears to have taken his A.M. degree on being presented by the dean and chapter of York to the vicarage of Brotherton, one mile from Ferrybridge, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, more anciently called Broyerton, and known as the birth-place of Thomas de Brotherton, son of Edward I., created Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England, from whom are descended, in the female line, the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk. The net income of the vicarage⁶ is now 192*l.* per annum,—rated

⁴ The substance of what is here stated may be found in Nichols' Literary History, vol. v. p. 63, and in the Literary Anecdotes, vol. ii. 724. viii. 371—373. It is derived from a note of Dr. Zouch's Visitation Address to the Clergy of the Deaneries of Richmond, Catterick, and Boroughbridge, 1792.

⁵ Sermons, vol. ii. p. 184. Democritus to the Reader, vol. i. p. 61. 8vo.

⁶ When the vicarage was under repair at the end of the last century, "three golden coins of the reign of Louis XIV. were found in the walls, which were no doubt placed there by Mr. Daubuz," says Dr. Zouch.

then at sixty or seventy,—and this is the only preferment he ever held. To eke out his scanty income he was obliged to take pupils,—usually an irksome, oftentimes a thankless office. But the good man went on in his way rejoicing. Loving and beloved he left a name behind him, better than other worldly inheritance. He was a constant resident in his parish, devout and pious, humble and benevolent, and withal energetic, persuasive, and impressive. “In the privacy of his retirement at Brotherton,” says Dr. Zouch, “unpatronized and unrewarded, with scarce a single smile or favour to exhilarate his labours or to animate his pursuits, he composed the whole” of his great work. “The following anecdote,” he adds, “was communicated to me on the best authority: when he had finished his Commentary, he went to Cambridge to consult Dr. Bentley, the great critic of the age. The Doctor, as it is supposed, thinking that Mr. Daubuz would outshine him in learning and eclipse his glory, *or, which is more probable, knowing that works of that kind, however excellent they might be, were little relished in those times*, did not encourage him to publish it. Upon which Mr. Daubuz, wearied in body and unhappy in mind, sickened of a pleuritic fever, and died in a few days”—another sad instance to be recorded amongst the calamities of authors! The work was published by his widow Anne Pholotar Daubuz in 1720, three years after his death, which took place June 17, 1717. His son, Claudius Daubuz, appears to have followed in the steps of his father. He was first vicar of Huddersfield, and afterwards rector of Bilderthorpe, in Notts, and a prebend in the collegiate church of Southwell. The marble in the chancel of Brotherton speaks thus of father and son:—

“Both eminent for piety, virtue, and learning,
They lived beloved, and they died universally lamented.”

It was restored some years ago by the now owner of Offington, in whose drawing-room the portrait of the celebrated divine, his ancestor, is not the least attractive painting.

The family name of Baril came by marriage, Theophilus Daubuz, Esq., of Falmouth, having married Miss Judith Baril, of Tokenhouse-yard, London, July 7, 1750. The purchaser of Offington was his son, and an eminent merchant. His brother, the father of the present J. B. Daubuz, Esq., died at a very advanced age a year or two ago, at his seat at Leyton, in Essex,

a parish not lightly to be forgotten, inasmuch as it was the residence of the "humble and happy-minded" John Strype, antiquary, biographer, and last, though not least, the lowly vicar of Leyton from 1669 till the year of his death in 1737. It is well to have such names as those of Charles Daubuz and John Strype on a family roll. I wot the Scripture saith not in vain, "A good man leaveth an inheritance to his children's children⁷." Houses and lands are very well; but there is a better and more enduring possession, and such examples point heavenwards!

From Offington we proceeded by the farm-house and the mill to the summit of Cissbury, a long mile and a half by the winding path we took. It is an ancient encampment well worth visiting. It encloses within its area a space of sixty acres, and has the most perfect ditch and vallum we had ever seen. The situation is a commanding one, and the view this day was perfectly beautiful. The sea, the down, and the blue cloudless sky which looked hard as adamant, contributed each to the perfection of beauty in the other:—

"The butterfly, the bee,
And many an insect on the wing,
Full of the spirit of the spring,
Flew round and round in endless glee,
Alighting here, ascending there,
Ranging and revelling every where⁸!"

He were a bold antiquarian who should state any thing decided as to this remarkable spot; for Cissbury after all is comparatively speaking a modern designation, dating but from Cissa's time, towards the close of the fifth century. "Near Offington," says Camden, "is a military fortification surrounded with a rude bank of earth, where the inhabitants believe Cæsar encamped; but its name *Cissbury* plainly bespeaks it the work of King Cissa, second Saxon king of these parts, after his father Ella, when he landed with his brother Cimen and a considerable body of Saxons at *Cimenshore*, so called from Cimen, which has now lost its name; but appears by King Cedwalla's grant of it to the church of Selsey to have been near Wittering⁹;" West Wittering, that is,

⁷ Prov. xiii. 22.

⁸ Montgomery, "The Adventure of a Star."

⁹ See Gough's Camden, vol. i. pp. 188. 199. See Leland's Collectanea. "A. D. 499. Ella et ejus tres filii Cymen, Pleucing, & Cissa, cum tribus navibus in

seven and a half miles from Chichester, where is a place on the shore still called *Ell-a-Nor-Point*. Gough, in his additions, speaks of it as a very long oval, which in truth it is, and to him it appeared to have a double trench. To which he adds: "It was the retreat and residence of Cissa, king of the South Saxons, after he submitted through indolence to become tributary to Cerdic, the West Saxon; this being his stronghold in case of invasion from the Britons, as Chichester was his more peaceful abode. Vulgar tradition corruptly calls it Cæsar's, and pretends to show the site of his tent."

Thus far Camden, and Speed also, have followed ancient tradition and history combined; for about the close of the fifth century, Regnum or Chichester¹ was taken by Cissa, rebuilt, and fortified by a strong entrenchment, and Cissbury attests his name. But as to the encampment, admitting that it was improved by him, and its shape somewhat altered, there can be little doubt but that it has served every generation in its turn. It is the nearest place of retreat to be made defensible on this part of the coast; and here, when marauders landed, and when piracy as amongst the ancient Greeks and the Vikingur was an honourable occupation, the affrighted inhabitants would naturally take refuge, and do their best *pro aris et focis*.

Cæsar landed on his first expedition at the Portus Lemanis, or Lymne, a little below Dover, and two and three-quarter miles from Hythe; and he tells us that the Britons were drawn up in battle array *in omnibus collibus*², so that he chose not the spot which he first touched at, but sought another where his landing would not be impeded by the darts of the enemy. Where he landed on his second expedition is not so clear, but his language is remarkable: "*Repulsi ab equitatu, se in sylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti, egregiè et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici*

Britanniam venère, et in loco, qui vocatur Chimenesora, suas naves appulère, ibique Britones multos occidere, et cæteros in sylvam, quæ Andresige nominatur, fugavere."—Vol. iii. 276.

¹ See Leland's Collectanea. "Regnavit pro eo Cissa filius, de cujus nomine Cicestria, quam ipse fundavit, nomen accepit."—Vol. iii. 385.

² Cæsar de Bell. Gall., lib. iv. c. xxiii. and lib. v. c. ix. The expression in the preceding chapter only speaks of the *part of the shore*, not the *spot itself*. The words are, "*remis contendit, ut eam partem insulæ caperet, quâ optimum esse egressum superiore ætate cognoverat.*" c. viii.

belli, ut videbatur, causâ jam ante præparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi." The conclusion I would draw from this is, that Cissbury was, like other like posts, rather a place of retreat than a battle-field, and that the Britons used it as such. Unburnt pottery has been found there, and has been pronounced to be British; and the deep indentations on the west side have been taken for the rude huts of our painted forefathers. Those who have scaled that noble mountain in North Wales, called by the Cymry Penmaenmawr, will not fail to recollect the extensive ruins there, formed of huge stones without mortar, and capable of holding some 50, some 100 men, to the amount of many thousands,—it has been calculated from 15,000 to 20,000. This, I take it, was a place of retreat and defence; and of the like sort was Cissbury, which, however, could not be retained for any length of time, as there is no water nearer than Applesham or Findon.

That the Romans held it in their turn is a natural conclusion, and the coins discovered there prove it to have been a *Roman* station, or rather are presumptive evidence that they used it. I cannot make out any triple ramparts here, such as are alluded to by Fosbrooke. "In Cissbury, ascribed to Cissa, (which Spelman or Hearne makes *Danish*,) where also are triple ramparts, British remains have been found prior to the Saxon era; nor are Bury, Blunsden, Barbury, and Castle Comb, of any other character than British and Roman British. High valla and deep ditches (why, I know not,) are ascribed to the Saxons³." Gilpin, in his "Southern Tour," seems to speak of Cissbury by the name of Sizeburgh, and calls it a Roman station⁴. Tradition says there is an underground passage from the house at Offington, which leads directly to the encampment, and there is an opening to a private passage from the cellars there which has never been penetrated beyond a short distance. It is now bricked up. There is a plan in Cartwright which gives a very good idea of its shape and size. A bridle road crosses it from Broadwater to Steyning. It is a rabbit-warren now, on which the traveller may occasionally find some spear's head, or other piece of antiquity, to tell him that English ground was defended in days gone by as it would be

³ See Encyclopædia of Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 505.

⁴ See p. 41. Ed. 1804. The tour was made in the summer of 1774.

now, inch by inch, were an invader to threaten its peace. If Euphues should say, "Be not like the Englishman which preferreth every strange fashion before the use of his country⁵," it is only to be referred to his weakness on that score; for take the nation as a whole, and never was there one that better loved his native land, though the Swiss or the German may love theirs as well. Oh! that Goldsmith's lines were well engraved on the hearts of those who forget the poor man's patrimony, and how that he is the rich man's brother!

"Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made:
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied⁶!"

From Cissbury we bent our course, having first made the circuit of the ditch, and having examined it well, towards Chankbury. The way leads directly north over the Downs, and the open expanse between the two heights, most beautifully undulated, together with the view eastward, gives an excellent idea of what down-land is. Few that know the Downs have not been struck with that "sweet variety of hill and dale" which they present to the eye. The extract following is from that favourite book, "White's Natural History of Selbourne," and it is in his usual happy style. The letter is dated Ringmer, near Lewes, Dec. 9, 1773:—

"Though I have now travelled the *Sussex Downs* upwards of thirty years, yet I still investigate that chain of majestic mountains with fresh admiration year by year, and think I see new beauties every time I traverse it. This range, which runs from *Chichester* eastward as far as *East-bourn*, is about sixty miles in length, and is called the *South Downs*, properly speaking, only round *Lewes*. As you pass along you command a noble view of the Wild, or Weald, on one hand, and the broad down and seas on the other. Mr. Ray used to visit a family (Mr. *Courthope*, of *Danny*) just at the foot of these hills, and was so ravished with the prospect from *Plumpton-plain*, near *Lewes*, that he mentions

⁵ Euphues to Philautus.

⁶ The Deserted Village.

those scapes in his 'Wisdom of God in the Works of the Creation' with the utmost satisfaction, and thinks them equal to any thing he had seen in the finest parts of *Europe*. For my own part, I think there is something peculiarly sweet and amusing in the shapely-figured aspect of chalk hills in preference to those of stone, which are rugged, broken, abrupt, and shapeless. Perhaps I may be singular in my opinion, and not so happy as to convey to you the same idea; but I never contemplate these mountains without thinking I perceive somewhat analogous to growth in their gentle swellings and smooth fungus-like protuberances, their fluted sides, and regular hollows and slopes, that carry at once the air of vegetative dilatation and expansion. Or was there ever a time when these immense masses of calcareous matter were thrown into fermentation by some adventitious moisture; were raised and leavened into such shapes by some plastic power, and so made to swell and heave their broad backs into the sky so much above the less animated clay of the wild below?⁷

Non nostrum est tantas componere lites—the advocates of Neptunian or Plutonian theories must settle this between them! One from more northern parts may smile at the notion of calling the Downs "majestic mountains;" but the dear simple man spoke as a South Saxon, and as one who loved the ground he wrote of. Cowper, it will not be forgotten, on his visit to Hayley, at Eartham, near Chichester, speaks in a letter to Olney "of the tremendous height of the Sussex hills, in comparison of which all that I had seen elsewhere are dwarfs⁸." Again when White speaks of mountains of stone as less picturesque—this is mere matter of taste, and a canny Scot or a Cumbrian would put in a demurrer. Southey somewhere or other tells of a Scotchman who could see no beauty in Skiddaw, Helvellin, or the lakes; and I once recollect a Cumbrian who lavished his abuse on the Downs, and who returned to his own mountains displeased with

⁷ See vol. i. p. 276, of the original edition, 1802. Southey thus speaks of this delightful book in a MS. Letter to Miss C. Bowles: "White's *Selbourne* was wickedly reprinted in the edition which I possess, in a garbled state, omitting every thing which did not relate to natural history. Now one charm of the book was that the good man took an interest in antiquities, and his book is the most delightful specimen of the interesting enjoyment which a good man can find any where in the country, if he will but look for them." Keswick, 9th March, 1829.

⁸ *Life by Southey*, vol. iii. p. 72.

all and every thing, *except himself*. But the simple truth is, that there is scarce a spot from the Lizard to John o'Groat's, where a contented and an amiable spirit may not find beauties ; at all events where it may not learn that it is advisable to acquiesce in the tastes of others, and to rejoice when they are pleased :

"Nec tua laudabis studia, aut aliena reprendes ;
Nec, quum venari volet ille, poemata panges.
Gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque
Zethi, dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
Conticuit lyra⁹."

The meaning of the word "*Down*" is mountain, hill, high ground ; to which the correlative, as logicians might call it, is "*Comb*," that is, a dale encompassed on each side by hills¹. And such was the prospect before us now,—hill and dale as far as the eye could take it in. For the most part the surface is a smooth grassy turf, affording the best sheep-walks in England, with now and then plots of gorse and fern, but little or no wood. The Downs, it is likely, were more wooded formerly than now, but less so than is generally supposed. There is a very remarkable passage in the seventeenth song of Drayton's "*Poly-Olbion*," which cannot fail to interest those who know the Downs and the Weald. It should be remarked that the great consumption of wood alluded to was for the heating of the iron furnaces, of which, in days gone by, Sussex had many. The name of *hammerpond* and *forge* is still common, though the origin of it be not very intelligible to a stranger. The passage to be quoted is long, but too interesting to be curtailed :

⁹ Hor. i. Epist. xviii. v. 39.

¹ See Skinner in v. "*Vallis utrinque collibus obsita*." Hence the termination to many names, as well as the name itself : e.g. the village of "*Combes*" on the Adur, put more particularly in Devon and Cornwall. See Richard's Welsh Dictionary, v. *Cwm*.

"*Uxellodunum*, Cæsar says (B. G. viii. 140), was a town on every side inaccessible, and situate on a high mountain. But *uchell*, in British, signifies high, and *dunum*, among the old Gauls, was an eminence or hill, as we learn from Plutarch in his book of rivers from Clitophon ; and the same word was used by the ancient Britons." Camden, vol. i. p. 15, x. p. 30. See Richard's v. *Uchel*, and Du Cange in v. *Coumbe*. It is curious that "*catacombs*" has the same original.

See, besides the above, Pelletier's Dictionnaire de la Langue Bretonne, in v. *U'ch*, *U'chel*.

" Four stately wood-nymphs stand on the Sussexian ground,
² Great Andradsweld's sometime : who, when she did abound
 In circuit and in growth, all other quite suppress'd ;
 But in her wane of pride, as she in strength decreas'd,
 Her nymphs assumed the names, each one to her delight,
 As, Water-down, so call'd of her depressed site :
 And Ash-down, of those trees that most in her do grow,
 Set higher to the downs, as the other standeth low.
 Saint Leonard's, of the seat by which she next is placed,
 And Whord, that with the like delighteth to be graced.
 These forests, as I say, the daughters of the Weald,
 (That in their heavy breasts had long their grief concealed,)
 Foreseeing their decay each hour so fast come on,
 Under the ax's stroke fetch'd many a grievous groan,
 When as the anvil's weight, and hammer's dreadful sound,
 Even rent the hollow woods, and shook the queachy³ ground.
 So that the trembling nymphs, opprest through ghastly fear,
 Ran madding to the downs, with loose dishevell'd hair,
 The sylvans that about the neighbouring woods did dwell,
 Both in the tufty frith, and in the mossy fell,
 Forsook their gloomy bow'rs, and wand'ring far abroad,
 Expell'd their quiet seats, and place of their abode,
 When labouring carts they saw to hold their daily trade,
 Where they in summer wont to sport them in the shade.
 ' Could we,' say they, ' suppose that any would us cherish,
 Which suffer (every day) the holiest things to perish,
 Or to our daily want to minister supply ?
 These iron times breed none that mind posterity.

² Selden, in his notes on Drayton's Poly-Olbion, observes, "The author's conceit of these forests being nymphs of the great *Andredsunda*, and their complaint for loss of woods in *Sussex*, so decayed, is plain enough to every reader." See vol. iii. p. 1872.

³ *Queachy*, whatever it may mean elsewhere, in Drayton means what we now call *quashy*, or *washy*. I have heard it applied to a bog in Shropshire. Drayton calls the Goodwin sands "*east and queachy*."—*Frith*, a line or two below, he elsewhere uses in the sense of *wood* ; which would appear to be the Welsh *frith* or *ffridd*. Skelton, in his *Garlande of Laurell*, says,—

" Thus stode I in the *frytthy* forest of Galtres
 Ensowpid with sylt of the myry mose."

See Dyce's edit., vol. i. p. 362, ii. 301. *Quære* : Is the name of this wood to be referred to *Gualdum* ? See Du Cange in v. There are some remarks on the word *Frith* in Ritson's *Robin Hood*, if I recollect, from Hearne.

'Tis but in vain to tell, what we before have been,
 Or changes of the world, that we in time have seen ;
 When, not devising how to spend our wealth with waste,
 We to the savage swine let fall our larding mast ;
 But now, alas ! ourselves we have not to sustain,
 Nor can our tops suffice to shield our roots from rain.
 Jove's oak, the warlike ash, vein'd elm, the softer beech,
 Short hazel, maple plain, light asp, the bending wych,
 Tough holly, and smooth birch, must altogether burn :
 What should the builder serve, supplies the forger's turn :
 When under public good, base private gain takes hold,
 And we poor woful woods to ruin lastly sold.'

This uttered they with grief; and more they would have spoke,
 But that the envious downs, int' open laughter broke :
 As joying in those wants, which nature them had given,
 Sith to us great distress the forests should be driven.
 Like him that long time had another's state enviy'd
 And sees a following ebb, unto his former tide ;
 The more he is depress'd, and bruised with fortune's might,
 The larger run his foe doth give to his despite ;
 So did the envious downs."

So that in Drayton's time the Downs were hardly more wooded than they are now. The great extent of wood was in the Weald, and on this side the Downs ; and the desire of Arun's forest is accomplished, except that they are not barren,—

" Which, nettled with the news, had not the power to hold :
 But, breaking into rage, wish'd tempests them might rive ;
 And on their barren scalps, still flint and chalk might thrive."

And it is the wood of the Weald which is implied in those words, —*Sussexian ground, Great Andradsweld's sometime* ;" for the whole maritime district "comprehending," as Selden says, "Sussex and part of Kent, was called 'Andredswalde,' which means simply 'Andredswood,' both in the old Anglo-Saxon⁴, and in the Ger-

⁴ "*Weald*, Sylva, saltus, nemus, locus sylvestris : *A wood, a forest, a lavne, a woody place.* Kiliani, *Wald*. Hinc autem regio illa nemorosa australem agri Cantiani plagam, ut et *Sussexiensis* borealem latè occupans, olim hodièque vulgò dicta *the Weald*. Hinc etiam Latino-barbaris *gualda*, al. *gualdum*, pro nemus : mutata sc. Sax. *w* in *gu*, pro more." Somner's Saxon Dictionary in v.

Andredswald : "A wood, part in Kent and part in Sussex : from the old word

man." This mighty forest was called by the Britons *Coed-Andred*, from the neighbouring Anderida; and it extended no less than 120 miles in length, and 30 in breadth, even into Hampshire." "*Coed*" it is hardly necessary to observe is British for "*weald*," and to this day has the same signification in Welsh. But, connected as *Anderida* or *Andred-ceastre* is with these parts, a word must be said about it.

The first account we have of this stronghold of the Britons is in connexion with the landing of Ella, of whom Drayton says:—

"As mighty Hengist here, by force of arms had done,
So Ella coming in, soon from the Britons won
The countries neighbouring Kent; which lying from the main,
Directly to the south, did properly obtain
The Southern Saxons' name⁵."

The history is very simply told in Sir Francis Palgrave's little sketch of the Anglo-Saxon period, who, by the way, in more than one instance, has almost the very words of Verstegan: "Whilst the Jutes were conquering Kent, their kindred took part in the war. Ship after ship sailed from the North Sea, filled with eager warriors (A.D. 477—491). The Saxons now arrived. Ella and his three sons landed in the ancient territory of the Regni. The Britons were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the forest of *Andreade*, whose extent is faintly indicated by the wastes and commons of the Weald. A general confederacy of the kings and tyrants of the Britons was formed against the invaders; but fresh reinforcements arrived from Germany: the city of *Andreades-Ceastre* was taken by storm, and all its inhabitants were slain, and the buildings razed to the ground, so that its site is now entirely unknown. From this period the kingdom of the *South* Saxons was established in the person of Ella; and though ruling only over the narrow boundary

andred, bear; q.d. a terrible, dreadful wood; and therefore called by Ethelward *immanis*." *Gagophylacium Anglicanum*.

Quære: Whether the "*Sylva Anderada*" took its name from *Fortuna Victrix*, *Andate*, or *Andarta*. Camden, vol. i. p. lxxvii.

⁵ See *Poly-Olbion*, Song xi.

of modern *Sussex*, he was accepted as the first of the Saxon Bretwaldas, or Emperors of the Isle of Britain⁶."

Now, *Anderida*, *Caer-Andred*, and *Andredsceastre*, are one; the difficulty is in fixing its modern locality. Camden and Selden place it at Newenden, in Kent; but this is thought by Stillingfleet, in his "Antiquities of the British Churches," to stand too much within land⁷. Somner thought it more likely to be Pevensey or Hastings. Turner only says, "On the edge of the wood, in Sussex, stood Andredes Ceaster." The probability is that Newenden is the real site, and that it is built on the old *Anderida*, the ruins of which were shown for many ages, till under Edward I., (the words are Camden's, from Henry of Huntingdon :) "Certain Carmelite friars, lately come from Carmel, in Palestine, and seeking solitary places, erected a monastery here at the expense of Sir Thomas Albager; and a town presently sprang up, which, with respect to the ancient ruined one, was called *Newenden*, q. d. *New Town in the valley*."

Such are the words of Camden; and Gough's additions may be seen in a subsequent page⁸. It appears, however, that there is a confusion between the authorities of Henry of Huntingdon and Matthew of Westminster, as pointed out by Stillingfleet. I will refer to his words, and leave the matter to those better able to cut the Gordian knot than I am. Matthew of Westminster saith, "that the Britons came out of the wood, and galled the Saxons so much, that they were forced to divide their army; and the inhabitants perished by famine, as well as by the sword:" and he observes, "that the Saxons utterly demolished the city, and the place where it stood was in his time showed to travellers." Therefore the question among our antiquaries,

⁶ History of England, Anglo-Saxon Period, p. 38. What he says in p. 33 of "*Old England*" may be seen in Verstegan's "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," p. 123, who refers to Camden. See the History also in Sharon Turner, vol. i. p. 267.

⁷ Stillingfleet, loc. cit. c. ii. vol. i. p. 95. Ed. Clar. 1842. See Selden, vol. iii. p. 1826, and Camden, vol. i. p. 223. Selden maintains the same in speaking of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici* in his Titles of Honour, Part ii. p. 394, and again in his *Mare Clausum*, vol. ii. p. 1299. "*Anderidos Rotheri fluvii ripam tenuit, Newenden jam appellatum.*"

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 249.

which was the Anderida of the ancients, Newenden, or Hastings, or Pevensey, is quite out of doors, unless one of them be proved to be built in the place of Anderida since Matthew Westminster's days, which were towards the end of Edward III. These words Camden applies only to Henry of Huntingdon; and he saith, "It was new built in Edward I.'s time, and therefore called Newenden;" but they are likewise Matthew Westminster's, who lived after that time, and therefore it cannot be Newenden, if it were rebuilt in the time of Edward I.; for he saith, "the desolate place was showed in his time:" unless one transcribe the other, without any regard to the difference of their own times⁹.

I suspect what is here stated to be the truth, as our chroniclers were copyists; and it is to Newenden that I look for the ancient *Caer-Andred*, situated in the *Andredeswald*, or *Andredesleage*, and at no great distance from what Drayton calls "the spacious mouth of Rother"—the stream that roving through the Weald—"old Andredsweald"—divided Sussex and Kent. Whether the Rother's mouth was *Portus Lemanis*, I must leave to our antiquaries, simply stating that Drayton was of that opinion, when he sang of the spacious harbour,—

"That Lymen then was named¹."

My reason for thus long dwelling on the much-famed Anderida, was to show that the parts of Sussex, which did not belong to the great forest of Andred, were chiefly down,—the flint and chalk formation over which we were now walking.

There is a point of natural history connected with these Downs, which should not be passed by; I mean the arrival and capture of the wheat-ear, or, as it is called, the English ortolan. On the present occasion Alethes remarked that we were too early to see the traps, many hundreds of which are to be found hereabouts in the season. Twenty years ago I had read what White of Sel-

⁹ Stillingfleet, ut suprâ, c. v. vol. ii. p. 494.

¹ "Limene flumen currit de Silvâ Magnâ, quæ vocata est Andreadeswalde, quæ silva habet spatium in longitudine ab oriente in occidentem milliaria cxx. et eò amplius, in latitudine xxx." *Chronicon Fani Neoti incerto auctore*. Leland, Collect. vol. iii. 217. See also pp. 276. 291, and vol. ii. p. 405. "Andredecaster nobilis civitas Britannorum ab Ellâ solo complanata quod ibi tot damna ejus milites acceperant. Locus autem à transcuntibus videtur usque in hodiernum diem."

bourne² tells of them, little thinking that in after years I should have the opportunity of watching their habits.

The wheat-ear, like the whin-chat and the stone-chat, is an elegant little bird, as those who possess Yarrell's valuable volumes may see for themselves, the male and female being both pictured there. The earliest comers are supposed to arrive on the Cornish coast, and usually very early in the morning, about the middle of March, and it has been said that one sex precedes the other. They have been seen on the Sussex Downs in March, not commonly, however, and few in number. Neither do they remain for any length of time, but withdraw for the breeding season. They begin to make their nests by the middle of April,—some in the rocks by the sea-side, others in rabbit-warrens and stone-quarries. Now and then, observes White, one is "plowed up in a fallow on the Downs under a furrow, but it is thought a rarity." Yarrell also says that he has found a nest more than once "in a fallow field under a large clod." But the time when they are most remarked on the South Downs is from July till the middle of September, when they again retire. During this time they are taken in immense quantities, and are considered a great delicacy,—like the *ficedula*³ amongst the Romans. The great haunt of this little bird is on the Downs between Eastbourne and Beachy-Head, but they are distributed in great numbers as far westward as Houghton-Bridge, beyond which, when White wrote, none were taken. What he states in the same letter still holds good, "that though in the height of the season so many hundreds of dozens are taken, yet they never are seen to flock; and it is a rare thing to see more than three or four at a time; so that there must be a perpetual flitting and constant progressive succession." It is stated in the "Linnæan Transactions," that as many as eighty-

² See Letter to Pennant, 9th Dec. 1773. Vol. i. p. 280, l. It appears that he expected to find some at this time, "as many," he says, "are to be seen to my knowledge all the winter through in many parts of the south of England." Yarrell does not notice this passage. The latest he mentions as having been seen were "a pair on the 17th November, 1822, near the gravel-pit in Hyde Park." See Hist. of Birds, vol. i. p. 258.

³ See Juv. Sat. xiv. 7. "Eodem jure natantes Mergere *ficedulas* didicit,"—the only bird which epicures allowed might be eaten whole. So tells Aulus Gellius: "negant ullam avem præter *ficedulam* totam comesse oportere." Noct. Att. lib. xv. c. viii.

seven dozen have been taken in one day, and as many as 1840 dozen annually round about Eastbourne. Yarrell states this, and says that a shepherd and his boy will look to from 500 to 700 traps. These are opened about Saint James's Day (25th July), and continue so till about the third week in September. Nothing can be simpler than the account Yarrell gives,—the plate in Montague's "Ornithological Dictionary" by Rennie, is not so intelligible as his description. Yarrell says, "The birds are supplied in profusion by the shepherds, who form numerous traps for them in the turf of the Downs over which their flocks and cattle graze. The wheat-ear trap is formed by cutting an oblong piece of turf from the surface, about eight inches by eleven, and six inches thick, which is to be taken up in a solid mass, and laid in the contrary way both as to surface and direction over the hole, thus forming a hollow chamber beneath it. Besides this chamber, two other openings are also cut in the turf, about six inches wide and of greater length, which lead into the chamber at opposite ends, that the birds may run in under the turf through either of them. A small straight stick, sharpened at both ends, not very unlike a common match, but stouter, is fixed in an upright position a little on one side the middle of the square (?) chamber; the stick supports two open running loops of twisted horsehair, placed vertically across the line of passage from either entrance to the opposite outlet, and the bird attempting to run through is almost certain to get his head into one of these loops, and be caught by the neck; upon the least alarm, even the shadow of a passing cloud, the birds run beneath the clod and are taken⁴."

Previous to their departure, they are said likewise to assemble on the Dorset Downs, and on the 24th of March, 1804, on their first arrival, a great number of these birds were seen on the south coast of Devon, near Knightsbridge, but they never continue, to any amount, either in Devon or Cornwall. Temminck in his "*Manuel d'Ornithologie*," speaks of them as *très-abondant en Hollande dans les dunes*⁵. His name for them is *Traquet Moteux*;

⁴ Yarrell, ut suprà, p. 257.

⁵ Partie Première, p. 239. Ed. 1820. Du Cange will explain his use of the word *dunes*. "*Dunas*, Sabulosos et arenarios colles ad Flandriæ Hollandiæque, atque ad eò ipsius Angliæ littora Galli nostri *Dunes*, Belgæ *Duynen* vocant;" in v. *Dunum*.

Buffon's, *le Moteux, ou le Cul-blanc* ; Linnæus, *Motacilla Ænanthe*. It is altogether a most interesting little bird, and none can watch its movements on these Downs, and not be pleased. Whether or not the traveller may be amused by the fabled antics of the dotterel is more than I can affirm :—

“ The dotterel, which we think a very dainty dish
Whose taking makes such sport, as man no more can wish ;
For as you creep, or cower, or lie, or stoop or go,
So marking you (with care) the apish bird doth go,
And acting every thing, doth never mark the net
Till he be in the snare, which men for him have set.”

So sings Drayton, and most readers of our old dramatists will recollect constant allusions to the simplicity of this bird, which, with the knot, was Canute's favourite,

“ For him, as some have said, from Denmark hither brought.”

During the ten years I have lived hard by the Downs, I have never seen a single dotterel on their scapes, much less a *trip* of them, nor have I ever heard of a *smittle*, or breeding-place, having been found. They are, however, occasionally seen here, and an acquaintance of mine once shot two on the Storrington Down. They more usually breed on the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and any one who wishes to see an interesting account of them, will find it in Mr. Heyscham's sketch given by Yarrell: “ What stupid birds these are ! ” was even his exclamation. The last I saw was on Carnedd Llewellyn, that noble mountain in Carnarvonshire so rarely visited. It was with a friend I have rarely seen since,—not out of mind, though out of sight⁶.

⁶ See Yarrell's *British Birds*, vol. ii. 397. The dotterel usually appears about the end of April, and before their departure—towards the end of August or beginning of September—they collect in flocks. They are rarely seen in Ireland, still more so in Cornwall, but occasionally in Devon and Dorset. It is the *Pluvier Guignard* of Temminck, vol. ii. 537. The Latin name alludes to its simple habits, *Charadrius Morinellus*. The readers of Martial will not forget the epigram,

“ *Morio dictus erat, viginti millibus emi.*

Redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane : Sapit ! ”

Lib. viii. xiii. The shepherds on Salisbury Plain have the following trite saying, as given in the “*Times*,” Nov. 7, 1844 :—

“ When dotterel do first appear,
It shows that frost is very near,—
But when that dotterel do go,
Then you may look for heavy snow.”

Reader! art thou well acquainted with old Fuller's writings? If not, read them whenever thou hast a chance. If he jest sometimes, and is always quaint, his volumes are full of instruction, and full of amusement. Take as a sample from his Worthies what he says of the dotterel: "This is an *avis γελωτοποιος*, a mirthmaking bird, so ridiculously mimical that he is easily caught (or rather *catcheth himself*), by his *over active imitation*. There is a sort of *apes* in *India*, caught by the *natives* thereof, after this manner:—They dress a little boy in his sight, undress him again, leave all the child's apparel behind them in the place, and then depart a competent distance. The *ape* presently attireth himself in the same garments, till the child's *clothes* become his *chains*, putting off his feet by putting on his shoes, not able to run to any purpose, and so is soon taken. The same *humour* otherwise pursued, betrayeth the dotterels. As the *fowler* stretcheth forth his arms and legs, going towards the *bird*, the bird extendeth his legs and wings approaching the *fowler*, till surprised in the net. But it is observed, that the foolisher the *fowl* or *fish*, (*woodcocks*, *dotterels*, *codsheads*, &c.), the finer the flesh thereof." To *dor the dotterel* is a well-known phrase, but whether dotterel be derived, as Camden implies, from *dote*, must be left to lexicographers.

Conversation on these subjects, and other like, with stops and breaks, such as friends enjoy, who are not obliged to keep up a continued discourse, brought us to the ridge which commands a view of the old town of Steyning, or, as it was anciently called Steyningham, together with the ruins of Bramber,—the parishes of Beeding and Buttolphs,—and others that lay south and east. We fancied also that we caught a glimpse of Albourne, but I am not sure that we could. Our wish, it may be, was "father to the thought," for it was at Albourne-Place (which he is said to have built) that the excellent Bishop Juxon, as Clarendon tells us, without mentioning *where*, "enjoyed the greatest tranquillity of any man of the three kingdoms, throughout the whole boisterous and destroying time that followed A.D. 1641; and lived to see a happy and blessed end of them, and died in great honour⁷."

⁷ See The Worthies of England, Lincolnshire, p. 149. Ed. folio, 1662. Camden's words are: "So called from their *extreme doatishness*, which occasions these imitative birds to be caught by the fowler's gestures by candle-light."

⁸ Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 370.

It was here, perhaps, that he sought relief for sorrow in his favourite amusement of hunting. Whitelocke, says D'Israeli, informs us that "his pack of hounds exceeded all others in England, for their orderly and pleasant going in couples, by his own skill and direction," and characterizes the bishop's temper with happy pleasantry, for having "as much command of himself as of his hounds." No character will bear looking into better than his, and the martyred king showed his discrimination when he spoke of him as "the honest man⁹!"

We chose the ridge we now left, because the view to the south and east is more easily taken in from thence by the eye. We now pushed across direct for Chankenbury, which, like Cissbury, is an old encampment, but not fortified as that is. Very little appears to be known about it. Camden simply says, that "another fortification called Chenkbury, is to be seen two miles from Cissbury¹." I should suspect it took its name from the possessors of Chancton, and that it originally was Chancton's Bury. Ralph de Chancton is represented in the Testa de Neville (quoted by Cartwright), as holding two parts of a knight's fee in Chancton, an estate in the parish of Washington, the manor of which extends into the parish of Ashington, Wiston, Ashurst, Nuthurst, and Wisboro' Green. It is now covered with trees, and is vulgarly called "old Goring's hunting cap," from its having been planted by the late C. Goring, Esq., of Wiston, which lies just below. In the old drawing of Wiston-Place, given in Cartwright, it may be seen, as it then was, without any trees at all. There would appear to be a flag-staff and a hut upon it. It is represented as taken in the time of Charles I. A wise youth of

⁹ See D'Israeli's *Commentaries on the Life of Charles I.*, vol. iü. p. 68. Pope tells us, in his *Life of Seth Ward*, that that good bishop also, when "by chance he chopt upon the dogs, would ride a ring or two very briskly," p. 74. It is curious that Abp. Abbot, who resisted the Book of Sports, should himself have shot Lord Zouch's gamekeeper, instead of a deer, with a cross-bow. He never would ordain afterwards, as his hand had been defiled with blood! So much, in this respect, are the times changed for the better. Nevertheless, the general remark of D'Israeli, in his note, is true: "The healthful exercise which the bishop practised, is one of those indifferent actions which stand unconnected with morality, and should no more be deprecated than a bishop's morning ride." But there is a time for all things, and the late lamented Dr. E. Burton no longer hunted, when his position became influential.

¹ Vol. i. p. 188.

Gotham is said to have considered it to be the residence of the equinox !

There is no view in this country surpasses that from Chankenbury. Beneath you immediately is the old seat of the Shirleys and the Gorings, with its noble Elizabethan hall, still surviving all modern improvements, and lording it over vitiated taste. Is it Crabbe that says?—

“The things themselves are pleasant to behold,
But not like those which we beheld of old,—
That half-hid mansion, with its wide domain,
Unbound and unsubdued! But sighs are vain,
It is the rage of taste,—the rule and compass reign²!”

But the face of nature is not easily marred, and beyond and around is the broad expanse of the Weald of Sussex, unrivalled for its heart of oak; and never was this lord of the forest more beautiful than now. A genial spring had perfected its first leaves; and the midsummer shoot was just showing its lighter tints:—

“These giant oaks by no man’s order stand,
Heaven did the work—by no man was it plann’d!”

Beyond again was the line of the Surrey hills; and as the wind was a point to the north-west, there was no haze, and the view was perfect. A novel sight presented itself as we were about to depart. It seemed as if a rocket were darting by fits and starts from amongst the distant breast of wood to the north-east, or rather the smoke of a rocket, as it issued from the fusee. A moment’s thought told us that a train was on its way to the metropolis. The nymphs of the woods might again complain, as in the “Poly-Olbion,” that their privacy was invaded, and what Drayton calls “the harder Surrey heath,” that his solitude was no more !

But we had a long walk yet to accomplish; and it was time to drag ourselves away from the ravishing view before us. Our

² Crabbe’s *Ancient Mansion*, vol. viii. p. 164. It is Jones of Nayland that remarks, “A new building, which is the production of human art, hath a littleness about it, from the uniformity of its lines; but when time and the elements have done their work upon it, it approaches nearer to the grandeur of nature.”—Vol. iv. p. 42.

hasty meal was soon finished, and in a few minutes we were crossing the Downs southwards, and making our way for Findon. The undulation of the ground in this direction is not less beautiful than to the eastward, though, of course, more confined. The distance to Findon must be three miles at least—three possibly as the crow flies—and stretching out beyond it the eye was relieved by the grounds of Muntham and Highden. There is a notion that Oliver Cromwell passed some time at the former of these places; but there is no foundation for it, as it originated in the late William Frankland's impression of his lineal descent from that extraordinary person, and no less arch-rebel. By his will the several likenesses of his ancestors, beginning with "bluff Noll," the Protector, were bequeathed to the mansion for ever. "But all things," says Suckling, "are full of mutability," and it has passed into other hands!

As we descended into Findon from the Down, the mellowed evening light fell upon the old church; and many times as I had seen its shingled spire, (all that was to be seen from the position we were in,) I know not that I ever saw it with a more devotional feeling. We had been beholding and admiring the beauties of God's creation. The stillness of the Downs, the glorious sunshine, the unchecked intercourse of friend with friend, had all combined to chasten and discipline the thoughts. The very sheep that bit the short sweet grass had reminded us of patriarchal times, and the unenclosed Downs, that knew no hedge, bespoke the Almighty's freehold! Well and wisely has it been said by the pious Jones of Nayland, "Herbs and flowers may be regarded by some persons as objects of inferior consideration in philosophy; but every thing must be great which hath God for its Author. To Him all parts of nature are equally related. The flowers of the earth can raise our thoughts up to the Creator of the world as effectually as the stars of heaven; and till we make this use of both, we cannot be said to think properly of either. The contemplation of nature should always be seasoned with a mixture of devotion; the highest faculty of the human mind, by which alone contemplation is improved, and dignified, and directed to its proper object³."

³ From a Sermon with a remarkable title, "The Religious Use of Botanical Philosophy." Works, vol. iv. p. 2. Ed. 1826.

Wrapt in contemplation we had already crossed the road, and were on our way up to the church almost before we were aware of it. One cannot exactly say,

“ Whose loftie trees, yclad with sommer’s pride,
Did spread so broad, that heaven’s light did hide,
Not perceable with power of any starr ;”

but one may say, in Milton’s words, who had that passage of Spenser in view, that the trees, in which the church was enveloped, did—

“ Spread their umbrage broad,
And brown as evening ‘.”

Never was a more retired spot for a devout worshipper to seek his God in quiet, and to pour out his inmost soul. In some such spot as this had Roderick found peace ! Who can forget the lines ?

“ Whom hast thou there ? cried Julian, and drew back
Seeing that near them stood a meagre man
In humble garb, who rested with rais’d hands
On a long staff, bending his head, like one,
Who, when he hears the distant vesper bell,
Halts by the way, and all unseen of men
Offers his homage in the eye of heaven ‘.”

We had not much time to examine the church, but finding it open we walked through it, and I was delighted to find it much drier and better ventilated than it used to be. I recollect the time when the walls were green and running down with damp. The present vicar has done much for it, and I only wish the stove may be so placed as to do no damage to the fabric. Ventilation, in the long run, is better than fire heat, and more safe. The site of the building is more to be admired than its architecture, which is most irregular. It consists of a nave, north aisle with mortuary chapel⁶ attached, and chancel, together with a private chapel, belonging to W. W. Richardson, Esq., the present owner of

⁴ Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, i. l. vii. Milton’s *Par. Lost*, ix. 1087.

⁵ Southey’s *Don Roderick*, xxi.

⁶ This sepulchral chapel is reserved as the burial-place of the Green family. The Rev. J. C. Green has been vicar of Rustington since 1802, and is one of the oldest incumbents in the diocese. I have the pleasure to number him amongst my friends, and to know in him one of the best antiquarians in the archdeaconry.

the manor. Within the latter is a beautiful Norman arch with ornamental stone work of the same date. It is to be regretted that the whole of this, whether chapel or transept, is not thrown open. It would add much to the beauty of the building. Few churches would be more improved by open pews than Findon.

Findon, or *Finedune*, at the time of the Conquest, was in the territory of William de Braose, and appears to have been an occasional residence of the lords of Bramber. The manor has passed through many hands. The site of the old manor-house is the modern Findon-Place. The living is a vicarage; the house belonging to it, the old rectory-house, which passed with other possessions of Sele Priory into the hands of Magdalen College, Oxford, from whom the vicar holds it and the rectorial tithe, under a beneficial lease. It is to be regretted that the whole proceeds are not given up to the vicar, and the moiety held in Clapham⁷ relinquished, the latter parish being miserably poor, and the resident clergyman piteously provided for. This is one of those reforms in the Church which good men would rejoice at. Such an example would be more effectual than all the long speeches made at public meetings. "BEGIN AT MY SANCTUARY" are words fraught with an awful meaning, not only in Ezekiel's prophecy, but for ever⁸! It is Lord Brooke, in his "Treatise of Humane Learning," that says so pithily,

"For the true art of eloquence indeed
Is not this craft of words, but formes of speech,
Such as from living wisdomes do proceed;
Whose ends are not to flatter, or beseech,
Insinuate, or persuade, but to declare
What things in nature good or evil are."

It was now growing late, and we made the best of our way home, plucking from the wall, as we left the churchyard, a leaf of the Cotyledon Umbilicus, which grows there in abundance, as on the old rectory at Tarring. Our shortest cut was under

⁷ The present rector of Clapham is the Rev. William Nourse—one of those quiet unostentatious good men, whose salt will never lose its savour, and keeps the land from stinking.

⁸ Ezek. ix. 6.

Findon-Place, across the fields, and so by the foot of the Down to the Salvington chalk-pits, which accordingly we took. Instead, however, of descending into Salvington, we diverged by the Arundel-road to Offington-corner, that we might follow the course of the grove, and hear the nightingale. It was Alethes' wish ; and as we descended the hill, I heard him repeating in an undertone these lines from Chaucer's "Cuckow and the Nightingale:"

" But as I laye this other night waking,
I thought how lovers had a tokening,
And among hem it was a commune tale
That it were good to hear the nightingale,
Rather than the leud cuckow sing.

" And then I thought anon as it was day,
I would go somewhere to assay
If that I might a nightingale here,
For yet had I none heard of all that yere,
And it was tho the thridde nyght of Maye."

THE END.

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